

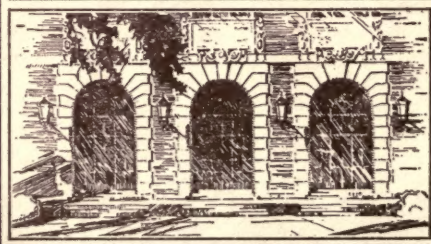


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HON. FRANK O. LOWDEN

THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

OTTO L. SCHMIDT, Chicago, *Chairman.*

JESSIE PALMER WEBER, *Secretary.*

EDWARD BOWE.

JOHN J. BROWN.

JOHN W. BUNN

WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH

LEON A. COLP.

ROYAL W. ENNIS.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

D. T. HARTWELL (Resigned).

EDMUND J. JAMES.

HARRY PRATT JUDSON (Resigned).

HUGH S. MAGILL, JR. (Resigned).

GEORGE PASTFIELD, JR.

WILLIAM N. PELOUZE.

A. J. POORMAN, JR.

THOMAS F. SCULLY.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG.

FREDERICK H. SMITH (Deceased).

1818

1918

The Centennial

OF THE

State of Illinois



Report of the Centennial Commission

Compiled by

JESSIE PALMER WEBER, Secretary of the Commission



SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL CO., STATE PRINTERS.

1920

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OUR ILLINOIS

(The Centennial Hymn.)

Words by Wallace Rice. Music by Edward C. Moore.

Our father's God
Thy name we bless
And all Thy mercies we confess with solemn joy:
Our prairies rich with fruitful loam,
Our rivers singing as they roam,
The happiness that is our home,
Our hope, our Illinois.

How many times,
Almighty God,
Our fathers passed beneath the rod Thy years employ!
Grant that their faith be justified
In us for whom they fought and died;
Their love for Thee our lasting pride
And hope, for Illinois.

Our father's God
Put forth Thy might;
Thru' Thee may we defend the right, The wrong destroy
Lead us afar from greed and lust,
Teach us our duty, make us just;
In Thee our best, our only trust
Our hope for Illinois.

Great Lord, Thy law
Hath made us free
And all our Freedom rests on Thee, Our stay and buoy
We give Thee praise for banished fears,
For righted evils, contrite tears;
Keep steadfast to her stainless years,
Our hope, our Illinois.

CENTENNIAL COMMISSION CREATED

AN ACT To create the Illinois Centennial Commission and to define its powers and duties.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:* That there be and is hereby created a commission to be known as the Illinois Centennial Commission. Such commission shall be appointed by the Governor and shall consist of fifteen members, who shall serve without compensation, but who shall be allowed their actual expenses while engaged in official business of the commission and in attending meetings of the said commission. In case any vacancy shall occur on said commission, the Governor shall fill the vacancy by appointment. The Governor shall designate the member who shall be chairman. The commission shall elect from its membership a secretary and may engage such employees as shall be deemed necessary.

SECTION 2. It shall be the duty of the Illinois Centennial Commission:

1. To arrange for and conduct a celebration in honor of the Centennial of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Federal Union.

2. To compile and publish a commemorative history of the State.

3. To report to the Fiftieth General Assembly the arrangements for such celebration.

4. To make a complete report to the Fifty-first General Assembly.

SECTION 3. The Illinois Centennial Commission shall expire when it shall have completed its duties and shall have made a complete report thereof to the Governor and the Fifty-first General Assembly, including a complete statement of its receipts and expenditures.

SECTION 4. WHEREAS, An emergency exists; therefore, this Act shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage.

APPROVED January 21, 1916.

Report of the
Illinois Centennial Commission





...ILLINOIS...

Nearly a century ago there was carved out of the old Northwest Territory a new state, destined to play a most important part in the history of the nation. To this new commonwealth was given the name of one of the great Indian tribes that came to a tragic end on historic Starved Rock.



The history of Illinois is a wonderful story. Her raw prairies have become productive fields. Pioneer settlements have developed into villages, and villages into great cities. Where one hundred years ago on the shores of Lake Michigan stood lonely Fort Dearborn, today stands our great metropolis.



No human mind a century ago, however powerful its imagination, could have dreamed of the things that have actually come to pass in Illinois. Great has been the development of her material resources, but greater her manhood. She has furnished men to meet her own great problems, and men to match the greater problems of the nation.



"Not without thy wondrous story, Illinois, Illinois,
Can be writ the nation's glory, Illinois, Illinois."

There has come to us of this generation the opportunity and privilege of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of our state into the Federal union. We should take advantage of this opportunity to impress upon the minds of all of our people the wonderful story of the progress and development of Illinois.

To carry out this purpose the General Assembly created the Illinois Centennial Commission, the members of which have been appointed by the Governor.



ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE, 1918

PRELIMINARY

Before the great war cast its blighting shadow upon the nations of the earth, the people of Illinois had begun to look forward to the observance of the centenary of their State.

The wonderful story of the Prairie State in its rise from the wigwam of the Indian and the camp fire of the explorer and the trapper, recounts adventures by sea and land, by winding rivers, fathomless lakes and trackless forests, recites the story of white souled religious men who carried the cross of Christianity to heathen nations, of daring and intrepid explorers who sought new and richer countries in the name of their king. It tells of gold and silver, of iron, lead and coal, of wild beast and of wilder man, of loyal friendship and of treachery, of filial devotion and of romantic love. All the attributes and passions of human nature have played their part in making the thrilling history of Illinois.

Our recorded history goes back to the discovery of the great Mississippi River by the Spaniard Ferdinand DeSoto, who before the middle of the sixteenth century, with a small company of his countrymen had found his way from the Florida coast to the great inland river.

Tradition tells us that DeSoto also saw the waters of the Ohio River, and if this be true, he saw, too, the Illinois country. Certain it is that rumors of the Illinois country, its beauty and fertility, its game and furs, had reached the ears of the adventurous French early in the seventeenth century, and Samuel de Champlain, the historian and traveler, was the first of his nation to mention it in historical writings.

Spain and France and England have all claimed this territory. The claims of Spain were shadowy. France discovered and explored the country, and took possession of it and held it for a hundred years. England conquered France upon the Plains of

Abraham at Quebec, in 1763, and through that victory claimed all of the American dependencies of France, including the Illinois country. England held actual sovereignty over Illinois less than fifteen years, nominally from 1763 to 1778, actually from 1765, when the British troops took command at Fort Chartres, until July 4, 1778, when the little settlements on the Mississippi River became a part of Virginia and so of the new American Republic. All the history, romance, and traditions of the two and a half centuries since the name of Illinois first made its appearance on the maps and in the historical writings of France is ours, but the history of Illinois since its admission as a State of the Federal Union in 1818, the one hundred years that have elapsed since that time, our first century as a sovereign state in the American Union, are what we have commemorated in our State Centennial observance.

When the war for American Independence was ended in 1781, the thirteen original states had still to pass through some critical years before the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788.

During the struggles of the Revolution, the proposed limits of the new Republic had been extended westward to the Mississippi River and a great and fertile territory wrested from Great Britain by the amazing military feat of Col. George Rogers Clark, a young Virginia soldier, who with a small army of undisciplined bordermen, captured the little village of Kaskaskia which was then on the outmost fringe of civilization. This he did in the name of Virginia and under the orders of its governor, the illustrious Patrick Henry. This momentous event occurred July 4, 1778. In the following February, Clark captured Vincennes on the Wabash River. The conquest of these frontier military posts assured to the new United States the territory which now embraces Ohio, Indiana, Illinois Wisconsin, Michigan and part of Minnesota, the great middle western states which form the very heart of the continent, any one of which has now as great a population as had the entire United States at the close of the Revolutionary War, and two of the states, Illinois and Ohio have each a much greater population.

Following the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the original thirteen states, seven states were admitted to the Union before Illinois asked to be permitted to become one of the sovereign states. These were Vermont in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, Ohio in 1802, Louisiana in 1812, Indiana in 1816 and Mississippi in 1817. Each of these states has observed its Centennial. The Centennial observance of our neighboring state, Indiana, celebrated in 1916, was the most elaborate.

In 1909 the State of Illinois, the nation and the world observed the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Many citizens including the members of the State Historical Society, urged that Illinois erect some adequate and enduring memorial of the Lincoln Centennial, but, while, there were many brilliant official observances of the anniversary, the State did not erect a permanent memorial on the occasion of the centenary of her most venerated citizen.

Feeling that the neglect of this opportunity was due in part, at least, to the failure of those whose duty it is to help to record and preserve state history, to make plain to the people of Illinois the importance and significance of the occasion, thoughtful citizens hoping to avoid the error made in regard to the Lincoln Centennial early began to call the attention of the people to the approach of the Centennial of the State of Illinois.

We do not admit in its entirety the truthfulness of the trite expression that republics are ungrateful, but we must agree that republics and the states which make up republics, are forgetful. This is because events move so rapidly that the newer emotions and sentiments crowd out of the interest of the people all other than things of the urgent and insistent present.

The busy people who toil on the farm, in the mine, in the office and the storeroom make the economic and political history, and as they willingly contribute the money to provide and carry on the machinery which makes and administers their laws, so as a part of the peoples' organization for the carrying out of their ideals and for their welfare, agencies are employed by them to plan their memorials, and to arrange for the observance of their his-

torical anniversaries, to be in a sense the keepers of their historical consciousness as well as of their historical records.

The Illinois Centennial Commission acted as the agent of the people of Illinois, in planning for and carrying on a celebration to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Federal Union.





DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMISSION AND ITS PLANS FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF THE CENTENARY OF THE STATE

On February 12, 1913, Campbell S. Hearn, a member of the Forty-eighth General Assembly of the State of Illinois representing the Thirty-sixth Senatorial District, introduced in the Senate a resolution which provided for the creation of a commission to plan for and carry on an adequate celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the Federal Union. This resolution was amended and the House of Representatives concurred in it on April 8, 1913.

The resolution provided that a commission be created for the purpose of observing the centennial of the State and that it should consist of fifteen members; five members of the Senate and five members of the House of Representatives appointed according to the usage of the Senate and House of Representatives, and Edmund J. James, E. B. Greene and J. W. Garner of the University of Illinois and Otto L. Schmidt and Jessie Palmer Weber of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Commission met in the office of the Lieutenant Governor in the Capitol on July 23, 1913. The members of the Commission were Campbell S. Hearn, Hugh S. Magill, Jr., Logan Hay, Henry W. Johnson, Kent E. Keller, members of the State Senate, and Representatives John S. Burns, John Huston, C. C. Pervier, James F. Morris and George B. Baker. The five other members of the Commission were those persons named in the resolution, President Edmund J. James, Prof. E. B. Greene, and Prof. J. W. Garner of the University of Illinois, and Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President, and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Commission organized at this its first meeting. Senator Campbell S. Hearn was elected chairman and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was elected secretary of the Commission.

There have been three distinct changes, in the organization of the Commission in addition to the change in the presiding officer caused by the death of the first chairman of the Commission. Senator Hearn died on August 28, 1914, at his home in Quincy. He had been one of the chief factors in the organization of the Commission and had been active in all of its labors. He was deeply interested in its work. On December 3, 1914, the Honorable Hugh S. Magill, Jr., was elected chairman of the Commission to succeed him. On his retirement from the Senate, the Chairman, Mr. Magill, and other retiring members of the General Assembly were declared ineligible for membership in the Commission and present members of the General Assembly were appointed in their places.

Senator E. S. Smith of Springfield, was elected chairman of the Commission to succeed Mr. Magill. The Centennial Commission was one of the State commissions whose legal status was questioned by the "Fergus suits." This matter caused some embarrassment and delay in the work of the Commission. The right of members of the General Assembly to serve on the Commission was also questioned.

Finally a bill passed the General Assembly giving the Governor power to appoint the fifteen members of the Commission. This Act was approved by Governor Edward F. Dunne, January 21, 1916, and under its provisions the Commission has worked without further confusion or embarrassment.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt who had been a member of the Commission from its organization was, by Governor Dunne, appointed its chairman and served until the labors of the Commission were completed. Dr. Schmidt had been chairman of the Publication Committee and was familiar with all of the plans of the Commission. He gave the work wise, patriotic and unselfish devotion. It is not too much to say that the success of the celebration in all its phases was due largely to him.

As before stated there were four important changes in the personnel of the Commission. The following named persons were members of it during the more than five years of its existence.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED UNDER AUTHORITY
OF SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION, 1913:

STATE SENATORS

Campbell S. Hearn (deceased).

Hugh S. Magill, Jr.

Logan Hay.

Henry W. Johnson.

Kent E. Keller.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

John S. Burns.

John Huston.

C. C. Pervier.

James F. Morris.

George B. Baker.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Edmund J. James.

Evarts B. Greene.

J. W. Garner.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Otto L. Schmidt.

Jessie Palmer Weber.

THE SECOND COMMISSION CONSISTED OF THE FOLLOWING
MEMBERS:

STATE SENATORS

E. S. Smith.

John Dailey.

M. W. Bailey.

Kent E. Keller.

Edward J. Hughes.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

John S. Burns.

John Huston.

William J. Butler.

Thomas A. Boyer.

Homer J. Tice.

And the same representatives of the University of Illinois and the Illinois State Historical Society.

After the passage of "An Act to create the Illinois Centennial Commission and to define its powers and duties," which was approved by the Governor, on January 21, 1916, Governor Dunne appointed the following named persons as members of the Commission. This may be called the third Commission.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chairman.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary.

Edward Bowe.

M. J. Daugherty.

Oscar W. Eckland.

Rev. Royal W. Ennis.

Evarts B. Greene.

J. B. McManus.

Hugh S. Magill, Jr.

Nicholas W. Duncan (resigned).

John Schultz.

Thomas F. Scully.

Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh.

Charles H. Starkel.

John E. Traeger.

Peter A. Waller.

In March, 1917, the Centennial Commission as a body placed its resignation in the hands of the newly inaugurated Governor, Frank O. Lowden, and the Commission was re-organized. The following named persons formed the final organization:

Otto L. Schmidt, Chairman.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary.

Edward Bowe.

John J. Brown.
John W. Bunn.
William Butterworth.
Leon A. Colp.
Royal W. Ennis.
Evarts B. Greene.
D. T. Hartwell (resigned).
Edmund J. James.
Harry Pratt Judson (resigned).
Hugh S. Magill, Jr. (resigned).
George Pasfield, Jr.
William N. Pelouze.
A. J. Poorman, Jr.
Thomas F. Scully.
Frederic Siedenburg.
Frederick H. Smith (deceased).

The Commission at once began an earnest study of its work and formulated comprehensive plans for the Centennial observances. The necessary committees were appointed. It was voted that Governor Dunne and State Superintendent Francis G. Blair be invited to serve as honorary members of the Commission. President E. J. James of the University of Illinois was also invited to become an honorary member and served in that capacity until upon the resignation of President Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago, he became again, by appointment, a member of the Commission. Mr. Martin Roche of the State Art Commission and Professor J. A. James of the Northwestern University, were later elected honorary members.

After discussion and a careful consideration of the subject, it was decided that the plans for the celebration should be carried on under the following standing committees or divisions:

1. State-wide Celebration.
2. Celebration at the State Capital.
3. Centennial Memorial Building.
4. Centennial Memorial Publications.
5. Historical Statues and Markings.

6. Publicity.
7. Pageants and Masques.

Of these standing committees, several sub-committees were arranged. These plans and the titles of standing committees though modified or enlarged as occasion demanded, were practically adhered to during the work of arranging for and the carrying on of the celebrations.

The members of the first committees were:

1. Committee on State-wide Celebration—Kent E. Keller, Chairman; J. W. Garner, H. W. Johnson, John S. Burns, John Huston, C. C. Pervier, Jessie Palmer Weber.
2. Committee on Celebration at State Capital—Hugh S. Magill, Jr., Chairman.
3. Committee on Dedicatory Program—Edmund J. James, Chairman.
Committee on Historical Pageant—Jessie Palmer Weber, Chairman.
Committee on Centennial Exposition, Logan Hay, Chairman.
Sub-committees for the Centennial Exposition—Agriculture, C. C. Pervier; Livestock, John Huston; Mining, James F. Morris; Manufactures, George B. Baker; Transportation, Henry W. Johnson; Education, State Supt. Francis G. Blair; Arts and Sciences, J. W. Garner; Historical Relics, Jessie Palmer Weber.
3. Committee on Centennial Memorial Building—Logan Hay, Chairman; Kent E. Keller, John S. Burns, George B. Baker, James F. Morris.
4. Committee on Centennial Memorial Publications—O. L. Schmidt, Chairman; George B. Baker, E. J. James, E. B. Greene, J. W. Garner.
5. Committee on Statues and Historical Markings—E. B. Greene, Chairman; H. S. Magill, Jr., H. W. Johnson, John Huston, O. L. Schmidt.

6. Committee on Publicity—John S. Burns, Chairman; Francis G. Blair, H. S. Magill, Jr., Kent E. Keller, James F. Morris, O. L. Schmidt.

The various changes in the personnel of the Commission of course made necessary changes in the membership of committees. The final committees were as follows:

Centennial Memorial History—Evarts B. Greene, Chairman; Harry Pratt Judson (resigned), Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh, Rev. Royal W. Ennis, Edmund J. James, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.

Committee on Publicity—Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh, Chairman; William N. Pelouze, Judge Thomas F. Scully, Dr. Edward Bowe, Jessie Palmer Weber.

Committee on State-wide Celebration—Rev. Royal W. Ennis, Chairman; A. J. Poorman, Jr., William N. Pelouze, Leon A. Colp, Jessie Palmer Weber.

Committee on Celebration at State Capital—John W. Bunn, Chairman; George Pasfield, Jr., Vice-chairman; William Butterworth, John J. Brown, Col. Frederick H. Smith (deceased), Jessie Palmer Weber.

Committee on Pageants and Masques—Jessie Palmer Weber, Chairman; George Pasfield, Jr., Dr. Edward Bowe, Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh.

Committee on Vandalia Celebration—John J. Brown, Chairman.

On October 29, 1917, Governor Lowden issued a proclamation calling special attention to December 3d., following, as the ninety-ninth anniversary of the formal admission of Illinois into the Union, and the beginning of the Centennial year. In his proclamation the Governor urged a general observance of this day throughout the State, and that organizations be formed in every county to co-operate with the Illinois Centennial Commission in planning an appropriate observance of the Illinois Centennial anniversary. In this proclamation the Governor stated—

On December 3, Illinois will enter upon the hundredth year of her statehood. The General Assembly of Illinois has created a Commission, to provide for the celebration of our Centennial. It already has plans well under way to make this event worthy of the greatness

and the history of Illinois. But its work will not be complete unless the counties of the State shall also organize for this purpose. There is not a county in Illinois which has not been the scene of stirring and important events, which should find a place in the permanent history of the State.

Now is the time to single out and record these events. It is common knowledge that a young and expanding community, absorbed in making history, is only too careless about recording the history it makes.

Many points in Illinois scenes of momentous happenings—which could have been sought and marked half a century ago, and have become fixed landmarks, are now only vague traditions. And, so while it is yet time, let our hundredth year be marked by fixing permanently the events of our first hundred years, so far as they may be fixed at this time.

It is thought by some that the time is not fitting for this celebration, because of the world-wide war in which we find ourselves. I do not share this view. I realize the greatness of the burdens this war imposes on us. We, of Illinois, will bear those burdens more lightly if we shall recall the first hundred years of Illinois' achievements. Our fathers before us, too, bore heavy burdens. They, too, knew what it meant to offer all for a great cause. They too, faced danger and difficulty. But they triumphed over all, and this great commonwealth—the home of twice the number of free men the United States contained at the close of the Revolutionary War—is the result.

We have a hundred years of noble history as a background. Whether we shall have another hundred years equally inspiring, depends upon the issue of this world-wide war. It will help Illinois to play a great part in this war, if her people will refresh their courage and strengthen their will by a study of our first hundred years.

When the Fiftieth General Assembly convened in January, 1917, America was fast approaching entrance into the great international war. Notwithstanding this fact, the members of the Legislature felt that the centennial celebration should be held during the year 1918, and that provision should be made therefor. The appropriation to the Centennial Commission was made after the United States had entered the war.

The officers of the Commission took up the question of a State-wide celebration with Governor Lowden, who after due consideration expressed the opinion that there was even more reason for holding the celebration during the war than under normal

conditions. He gave as his reason for this conclusion, that the story of Illinois is so rich in deeds of patriotism and heroic endeavor, that an appreciation of this history such as would be brought out by the centennial celebration, would tend to inspire the people of Illinois to do their full patriotic duty, and bear the burdens of the war more generously and heroically.

The three branches of the State Government, Legislative, Executive and Judicial took official part in the observance of the centennial. The Governor, by the following special message to the General Assembly called attention to this important part of the celebration:

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.
June 16, 1917.

Gentlemen of the Fiftieth General Assembly:

Next year Illinois will celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of its entrance into the Union. The hundred years of our Statehood history will be commemorated then. These hundred years are big with achievement. Our population in 1818 was forty thousand of scattered pioneers. Now it is more than six million. The fifth largest city in the world lies within our borders. Our resources have increased with our population. Many of Illinois' sons have written their names large in the history of the world. Illinois played a conspicuous, if not a decisive part in the war for the Union. The history of that war could not be written with Illinois left out.

We are now engaged in another great war in which the liberties of all mankind are challenged. We would be recreant to our past if we did not at this time recall to ourselves the achievements of a hundred years of free institutions in Illinois.

Your honorable body has made fitting provisions for this celebration, which should be marked with simplicity and solemnity but with great patriotic earnestness. The Commission having this work in charge is proceeding ably to this end. They desire that your honorable body appoint a committee to unite with the Executive and Judicial Departments of the State in extending invitations to the President of the United States, the governors of the different states, and to other distinguished guests, and to advise with the Commission upon matters pertaining to the celebration.

I therefore recommend the appointment of such a joint committee

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK O. LOWDEN, *Governor.*

As suggested by Governor Lowden, a committee consisting of Lieutenant Governor John G. Oglesby and ten members of the State Senate and Speaker David E. Shanahan and ten members of the House of Representatives was appointed as an advisory committee to act with the other branches of the State Government and the Centennial Commission.

The members were:

JOHN G. OGLESBY,

Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate.

RICHARD J. BARR.

ADAM C. CLIFFE.

WILLETT H. CORNWELL.

EDWARD C. CURTIS.

JOHN DAILEY.

AL. F. GORMAN.

EDWARD J. HUGHES.

MORTON D. HULL.

SIMON E. LANZ.

FREDERICK B. ROOS.

COMMITTEE FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

DAVID E. SHANAHAN,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

RANDOLPH BOYD.

THOMAS A. BOYER.

FREDERICK A. BREWER.

JOHN S. BURNS.

FREDERICK R. DEYOUNG.

JACOB FRISCH.

THOMAS N. GORMAN.

JOHN KASSERMAN.

CARL MUELLER.

ERNEST J. ODUM.

This Legislative Committee with the Governor and other executive officers of the State, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court and the Centennial Commission made up the general Invitation Committee and formal invitations

to the various centennial observances bore the names of the fifty-one members of this committee.

It was decided as suggested by Governor Lowden in a special message to the General Assembly, to invite the President of the United States to honor the Illinois Centennial observance by coming to Springfield, Saturday, October 5, 1918, and making the principal address at the laying of the corner stone of the Centennial Memorial Building.

Accordingly an invitation was handsomely engrossed and illuminated by hand, bound in red morocco, signed by the aforesaid committee of fifty-one, the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, State Treasurer, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Attorney General, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the State Supreme Court and the members of the Centennial Commission.

Chief Justice Orrin N. Carter, Dr. O. L. Schmidt, chairman of the Centennial Commission, and the Honorable David E. Shanahan, Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, went to Washington City, and on March 22, 1918, accompanied by United States Senator L. Y. Sherman and Congressmen Joseph G. Cannon, Henry T. Rainey and M. D. Foster, of Illinois, called on the President of the United States at the White House and presented the invitation to him in person. The President expressed his interest in the Illinois Centennial observance, his appreciation of the invitation and his desire to accept it, but could not at that time give the committee a definite answer. He asked that his attention be called to the matter later in the season.

Late in August, Dr. Schmidt, accompanied by former Governor Edward F. Dunne, called on the President and again urged his acceptance of the invitation, and he still had hopes of being able to accept it, but to the disappointment and the regret of the Commission, the condition of public affairs was such that he was unable to come to Springfield and take part in the Centennial celebration.

At the invitation of Governor Lowden, the State officers, the Justices of the Supreme Court, the Legislative Committee and the Centennial Commission met at the Executive Mansion at 11 o'clock

A. M., December 3, 1917, to discuss plans for the official Centennial observances.

Governor Lowden was elected chairman of this joint committee and Jessie Palmer Weber, secretary. The plans for the observance as formulated by the Centennial Commission were submitted and were approved. A special committee on invitations to invite speakers for the various observances and to plan the form of the cards of invitations and other like matters was appointed by Governor Lowden. This committee consisted of one member from each division of the State represented at the meeting. These members were Chief Justice Orrin N. Carter of the Supreme Court, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Francis G. Blair, State Senator Adam C. Cliffe, Representative John S. Burns, Mr. George Pasfield, Jr., of the Centennial Commission.

IMPORTANT ANNIVERSARIES OF THE CENTENNIAL YEAR

An historical writer has said that individuals have birthdays, states have birthyears and this is particularly true in the case of Illinois for the successive steps in the progress of the territory of Illinois in seeking admission as a State of the Union extended throughout the year 1818, from the 16th of January, the date upon which the Territorial Delegate in Congress, Nathaniel Pope, introduced the bill asking admission, until the 3d of December, when the President approved the Act of Congress which declared Illinois a sovereign State. There were several necessary and important official steps taken between these two dates. It was decided that the most significant of these anniversaries are:

The passage of the Enabling Act, April 18, 1818.

The promulgation of the Constitution, August 26, 1818.

The organization of the State Government by the meeting of the First General Assembly, October 5, 1818, and the inauguration of the First Governor, Shadrach Bond, on October 6, 1818. The formal Admission of the State, December 3, 1818.

Accordingly, these anniversaries and December 3, 1917, the 99th anniversary of the admission of the State, the real beginning of the centennial year; the birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincoln, February 12, 1918; and our Independence Day, July 4, which in 1918, was the 140th anniversary of George Rogers Clark's capture of Kaskaskia and the Illinois country were observed by official celebrations under the auspices of the Commission.

It was also decided that there should be official celebrations held at the three towns which have been the capital cities of Illinois, Kaskaskia, Vandalia and Springfield.

The Fourth of July was appropriately chosen as the date for the Kaskaskia observance.*

* As historic Kaskaskia is no longer in existence, the Kaskaskia observance was held at Chester, the county seat of Randolph County and at the Pioneer Cemetery overlooking the remains of historic Kaskaskia.

The citizens of Vandalia and Fayette County selected September 26 as the day for the Vandalia observance, and the other official celebrations were held in Springfield.

LOCAL AND COUNTY CENTENNIAL ASSOCIATIONS

The Commission believed that the best way to reach the people of the State was through some form of county organization and accordingly a letter was sent to certain officials in each county asking them to call a meeting of the people at the county seat for the purpose of forming county centennial associations. These officials were the County Judge, State's Attorney, County Clerk, chairman of the Board of Supervisors or County Commissioners as the case might be, and the County Superintendent of Schools. This was done not with the idea that these officials would necessarily be the officers of the association but for the purpose of beginning the work through official channels.

A pamphlet containing suggestions for county and local celebrations was immediately sent out.

The matter of local celebrations was the work of the Committee on State-wide Celebration, and after the appointment of the Director in August, 1917, organizing these associations and assisting them by correspondence, visits and addresses was largely the work of the Director.

On August 1, 1917, Mr. Hugh S. Magill, Jr., was appointed by the Commission, Director of the Centennial Celebration. Mr. Magill was a member of the State Senate when the Centennial Commission was organized in 1913, and was one of the members of that body appointed on the Commission. He was very active in the work of formulating its plans and on the death of the Chairman, Senator Campbell S. Hearn, he was appointed chairman of the Commission, which position he occupied until his retirement from the Senate. In 1916, Mr. Magill was again appointed a member of the Commission and he gave much thought to its preliminary work. Mr. Magill resigned from the Commission to take the position of Director of the Centennial Celebration and an office room for him was at once fitted up in the State House, and the necessary assistants were employed.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the loyal support of the Centennial celebration by the press of the State. As no public enterprise can be successfully carried on without publicity it would have been impossible for the Centennial Commission to have aroused as it did the interest of the people throughout the length and breadth of the State without the generous and cordial support of the Illinois newspapers.

Mr. S. Leigh Call was appointed manager of publicity on the organization of the Commission and served most efficiently for two years.

Mr. J. M. Page the veteran editor of Jerseyville, Illinois, next served for a year and his wide acquaintance and enthusiasm did much to interest and enlist the cooperation of the press.

During the actual observance of the Centennial, Mr. Halbert O. Crews was publicity manager and by his experience of newspaper methods and his untiring energy, the people were made acquainted with the historical significance of the centenary and the plans of the Commission.

Mr. Crews was the editor of the Centennial Bulletins and he sent weekly news letters to thousands of associations and citizens of the State.

It is estimated that Illinois newspapers published more than fifty thousand items relating to the Centennial.

Mr. H. H. Bancroft of Jacksonville, was assistant director of the Centennial celebration and devoted his time largely to assisting in the organization of local Centennial Associations. In his work he was very successful and through his efforts Centennial Associations were formed in more than half the counties of the State.

Throughout the Centennial year it was the purpose of the Commission to show the importance and greatness of Illinois in relation to the nation, and through the nation to the world. No one questions the fact that America was essential to the winning of the great war for human freedom. History justifies the statement that Illinois contributed during the past century men whose leadership was essential to the preservation of the American Union. May we not then, as citizens of Illinois, feel a solemn pride in the historic fact that Illinois has contributed, through the inspiration

and leadership of Abraham Lincoln and her other great souls, to the highest welfare of all mankind?

Thus Illinois closes the first century of her history as a State. Those upon whom was placed the responsibility of conducting a suitable observance of her Centennial lay down their work with the hope that an appreciation of the past century may inspire the people of Illinois to enter the new century with a high resolve that the future of our State shall be worthy of those whose noble lives have illumined her past.

At the close of the Centennial year as the Commission looks back over the five years of its organization, years that have been so momentous in the history of Illinois and of the world, so filled with great events that were unforeseen by any one, its members feel some satisfaction that in spite of very great obstacles it has succeeded in accomplishing the greater part of what it had planned in the beginning.

In the various official observances of its centenary, Illinois has been honored by the presence of her United States Senators, L. Y. Sherman and J. Hamilton Lewis and of several of her members of Congress. A member of the Cabinet of the President of the United States has been her guest. Orators have come to take part in paying tribute to Illinois and her contributions to the world, from England, from France, from Ireland and from Canada, Virginia, New York, Connecticut, Ohio and Indiana have sent representatives and all of these statesmen, orators and historians have told in glowing terms of what Illinois has achieved, what her material contributions have been in coal and wheat and corn, in beef and pork and in manufactured products, and above all her gifts of men and women, men and women who toiled, sacrificed and achieved for humanity, from pioneers who laid broad and deep the foundations of our commonwealth, and perhaps builded better than they knew.

The annals of Illinois are resplendent with the names of men who toiled and sacrificed to establish human liberty.

Coles and Birkbeck, and the others who drove out the dark specter of slave holding from the Prairie State, the founders of the schools, the priests, the pioneer preachers, the circuit riders and

the exhorters, the Indian fighters and the builders of roads and the diggers of canals, the soldiers of our wars, from the humblest drummer boy to the great generals and to the chief magistrate, Abraham Lincoln, the greatest and noblest of them all who sacrificed even life itself, that "government of the people, by the people, for the people should not perish from the earth," Abraham Lincoln, the greatest exponent of world democracy that the world has ever known, all of these has our State contributed, and so Illinois of to-day is offering men.

Every gallant young man of Illinois who in the present crisis went out and offered his life for democracy as did the heroes of the Revolutionary War, and our fathers of the war for the Union, each one of these is an immortal, and an undying gift, and breathes the spirit of Illinois, the spirit of the 260,000 men that Illinois gave to preserve the Union and is piled up in the imperishable multitude of nearly 300,000 sons of Illinois who fought for a world wide democracy as our second century begins.

THE CENTENNIAL MEMORIAL HISTORY

An important work of the Centennial Commission was the preparation and publication of a Centennial Memorial History of the State under the supervision of the Committee on Publications of the Commission of which Prof. E. B. Greene is chairman. The work of compiling and writing this history was done by a corps of trained, scientific historians under the general editorial supervision of Prof. C. W. Alvord. The history is on a scale never before attempted by a state of the Union. It has taken six years of labor and research. It is published in six volumes and will be placed free of charge in the public libraries of the State and sold to individuals at a low cost. The first or preliminary volume entitled, "Illinois in 1818," is by Prof. Solon J. Buck. The series is called "The Centennial Memorial History of Illinois," and it is a valuable and enduring feature of the Centennial observance.

The titles of the volumes of the series are:

- I. Province and Territory, 1673-1818, edited by C. W. Alvord.
- II. The Frontier State, 1818-1848, edited by Theodore C. Pease.
- III. The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870, edited by Arthur C. Cole.
- IV. The Industrial State, 1870-1893, edited by Ernest L. Bogart and Charles M. Thompson.
- V. The Modern Commonwealth, 1893-1918, edited by Ernest L. Bogart, and John M. Mathews.

THE CENTENNIAL HALF DOLLAR

At the request of the Illinois Centennial Commission, Congressman Loren E. Wheeler of the Twenty-first Illinois Congressional District introduced a bill in Congress providing for the coinage of a special coin in commemoration of the Centennial of the admission of Illinois into the Union. After the passage of the bill by Congress authorizing the coinage of one hundred thousand half dollars, every effort was made to expedite the distribution of the coins among the people of the State as souvenirs of the Centennial year.

One hundred thousand fifty cents pieces with a special design commemorative of the Illinois Centennial were issued. The design was determined upon by the Director of the Mint and the Secretary of the Treasury, but was suggested by the Centennial Commission. As a result of a conference with the Superintendent and Chief Engraver of the United States Mint, it was agreed that the coin should have the head of Lincoln on the obverse side and the seal of Illinois on the reverse side, with the inscription "Centennial of the State of Illinois, 1818-1918." The Chief Engraver of the Mint prepared the models from which the dies were made.

The coins were distributed during the Centennial year to county or centennial associations at par value. These associations disposed of the fifty cent pieces for one dollar each, the proceeds of the sale being used for local Centennial celebrations or some phase of war relief work.

The coin has been much admired by numismatists and it has been purchased by them and distributed throughout the entire United States.

THE CENTENNIAL MEMORIAL BUILDING

The Centennial Commission was organized in 1913, before the organization of the State Departments of the Administrative Code, but before this time efforts were being made to secure a new Historical or Educational Building in order to relieve the crowded condition of the State House.

It was hoped that such a building might be erected as a memorial of the centenary of Abraham Lincoln in 1909.

Celebrations and demonstrations are an important and essential part of the Centennial observance, but the Commission felt that the Centennial Memorial Building would be after all the permanent, the enduring evidence that the people of Illinois had observed the rounding out of their first century of Statehood, if they erect a stately and beautiful temple in which to preserve the history and memorials of those who have built the fabric of the State.

The Centennial Commission was very glad to use such influence as it might have in advancing the plans for this inspiring and permanent memorial. A brief account of the successive steps in the progress towards the building of the Centennial Memorial Building may be of interest.

An Educational Building Commission was created by the Forty-seventh General Assembly, 1911. Members of this Commission were named in the act, to be the Governor, Secretary of State, Superintendent of Public Instruction, President of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Library, President of the State Historical Society, Auditor of Public Accounts, and Department Commander of the State G. A. R.

The duty of this Commission was to consider plans for an Educational Building and to recommend a proper site for it. The act carried an appropriation of \$5,000, for the purposes mentioned.

This Commission secured the service of Mr. W. S. Leland a noted archivist. Mr. Leland visited Springfield and studied the needs of the various departments and made a report to the Commission which it submitted to the Forty-eighth General Assembly, with some recommendations and tentative plans by Mr. W. Corbys Zimmerman, then State Architect.

The next General Assembly (the Forty-eighth) continued this Commission and appropriated \$10,000, for its use.

The outgrowth of the work of this Commission was the creation of the Centennial Building Commission by the Forty-ninth General Assembly. The Governor, Secretary of State, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Chairman of the State Art Commission, President of the State Historical Society and President of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Library and two persons appointed by the Governor constituted the Commission.

The act creating this Commission designated the ground to be used for the site, and stipulated that the citizens of Springfield or someone in their behalf contribute \$100,000 toward the purchase of the designated tract of ground. This the citizens of Springfield did. The act carried an appropriation of \$125,000.

The fiftieth General Assembly appropriated to the Department of Public Works and Buildings, \$100,000, to prepare plans and specifications for the Centennial Memorial Building and created an advisory Centennial Building Commission consisting of the Director of Public Works and Buildings and the Governor, President of the State Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Secretary of State and three members to be appointed by the Governor whose duty it shall be to determine the exact location of the building on the grounds, select and approve the plans and specifications for the building and have supervision over its construction. The act stated that the building will cost \$800,000, and appropriated \$125,000, for expenses of plans and specifications.

The Fiftieth General Assembly made an appropriation to begin the erection of the Centennial Memorial Building on the beautiful plot of ground south of the State Capitol Building and the law making the appropriation stipulated that the laying of the cornerstone of the building be a part of the exercises of the Centennial celebration. The building will cost when completed about a million dollars and will be erected by the Department of Public Works and Buildings. The plans have been drawn by Mr. Edgar Martin, State Architect. The growth of the State's business has been so great that the Capitol Building is badly crowded and

room is needed for the proper housing and care of many departments. It is expected that the Centennial Memorial Building will be beautiful and satisfying architecturally and artistically and will provide ample quarters for the State Department of Education, State Library, State Historical Library and Society, a worthy Lincoln Memorial Hall, the Natural History Museum, a safe depository for valuable records and house many other departments and boards. It will be an enduring monument of the completion of our first century of Statehood, one upon which the people of the State can look with pride for generations to come. The cornerstone of the present State Capitol was laid October 5, 1868, and thus when on October 5, 1918, we laid the cornerstone of our Centennial Memorial Building, we celebrated the semi-centennial anniversary of the present Capitol Building.

PAGEANT AND MASQUES

Mr. Wallace Rice, who was selected by the Illinois Centennial Commission as official pageant writer for the centenary has said, "Whatever the forms assumed in modern times by pageants, such forms, in response to the innate desire in human nature for the display of all the splendors humanity can command, are of the remotest antiquity. Memorials of them are carved upon ancient Egyptian bassi rilievi, are shown in Grecian sculpture and persist in the triumphal arches of the Romans. Indeed it is not too much to say that no tribe of men has ever been found, however savage its state, which did not combine processions, dancing, songs and some form of histrionism for the better celebration of high events in its annals, whether religious or secular."

Another writer has said in substance: "Wherever men have been pioneers, blazed the way and struggled to carry forward civilization. Wherever victories for right have been achieved; wherever by heroic action or by patient enduring the great cause of human progress and human liberty has been nurtured, that ground is holy ground and the incidents there enacted are sacred, worthy of commemoration in pageantry."

And with this conception of the history and mission of pageantry the Centennial Commission from its organization began to

make plans to reproduce for the people of Illinois the wonderful story of the Prairie State by means of a pageant of historic truth and of poetic imagery and beauty, so presented as to visualize the stirring and momentous events in the life of our great commonwealth in such a way as to be unforgettable in the hearts and minds of those who behold it.

The Commission's choice of Mr. Rice as pageant writer was a happy one, the masques, pageants and poems which he wrote being worthy of their great theme and of the occasion. Mr. Frederick Bruegger was selected as pageant master to produce the official masques. He was assisted by Mrs. Bruegger in this work and through their conception of their work and their training of the actors in the masque, the Commission was able to realize in a large measure its hopes. The presentation of the Centennial Masque will mark an era in community effort in Illinois.

The masques, pageants and plays published by the Commission include the following:

"The Pageant of the Illinois Country," by Wallace Rice.

"The Masque of Illinois," by Mr. Rice.

"Six Little Plays for Children," by Mr. Rice.

"The Wonderful story of Illinois," by Grace Arlington Owen.

The Masque written by Mr. Rice was used by the Centennial Commission as the official Masque. And this was produced under the direction of the Committee on Pageants and Masques of which Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was chairman and Mr. George Pasfield, Dr. Edward Bowe and Rev. Frederic Siedenburg were members.

The Masque portrayed in a series of beautiful scenes the thrilling history of the State. The music written especially for it by Mr. Edward C. Moore, was of special beauty and added greatly to the charm of the production. Some of the airs will live as long as the memory of the Masque endures.

To Mr. and Mrs. Bruegger, pageant masters, great credit is due for the complete success of the production. The Sangamon County Centennial Association rendered valuable aid in selecting the cast and making many of the costumes and other arrangements which contributed to the success of the Masque.

It is not possible to mention all who deserve credit. Mrs. Robert C. Lanphier and Mrs. Logan Hay were the Committee on Costumes and too much cannot be said in praise of their untiring efforts through which the charming choruses of young girls were gowned to be the Illinois company, the Trees, the Flowers, the Rivers and the Prairies who always attended Illinois.

Mr. Clinton L. Conkling, Mr. Robert C. Lanphier, Mr. Robert W. Troxell, Mr. Ira M. Allen, Mr. R. A. Guest, Mr. Henry Helmle, Mrs. Philip Barton Warren, Mrs. V. Y. Dallman, Mrs. George Thomas Palmer and Miss Theresa Gorman of the Sangamon County Committees also greatly aided in the arrangements for the production.

It is, of course, needless to say that the Masque could not have been presented without hearty cooperation and great and earnest effort upon the part of the cast. It would be impossible to mention any considerable number of the more than a thousand persons of Springfield and central Illinois who took part in the Masque. All deserve commendation. It would, however, be unfair not to mention the work of Miss Florence Lowden who took the leading part, that of "Illinois," as this character was on the stage during the entire performance.

Miss Lowden committed to memory the words of the entire Masque. Not only was she letter perfect in her own part but she was able to assist other actors by prompting them in their lines if they showed evidence of confusion or forgetfulness.

Miss Lowden acted the part of "Illinois" with high appreciation and dignity and her enunciation of the words was excellent.

The first performance of the Masque was on the evening of August 26, 1918, the centenary of the promulgation of the Constitution of 1818. It was given in the Coliseum at the State Fair grounds. A very large stage was erected at the west end of the building and carpeted with green. Large trees and bushes were brought from the woods and the stage was made to represent an open space or prairie in a woodland glade. The effect was beautiful. In the second presentation of the Masque which occurred on October 4-5, the foliage of the trees and bushes was in the autumn colors.

The cast of more than one thousand persons was made up of all ages and classes of the people of Springfield and central Illinois.

The various fraternal orders took part, churches and musical societies furnished choruses.

There were old, young and middle aged men and women. The chorus, "the children of Illinois" was given by a large number of little folks from three to twelve years of age. All deserve praise from the National Commander of the G. A. R. who took a part in the Civil War episode to the tiny drummer boy of five years who marched proudly at his side.

The Masque was presented at Vandalia on September 26, by a cast made up of citizens of Vandalia and Fayette County. It was presented on an out-of-door stage and the effect was of great beauty.

The Centennial Masque will linger in the memory of those who witnessed it. It presented a moving picture of Illinois, from the days of the French Missionary priest and voyageur, through all the changing years of toil and sacrifice, of progress and triumph. It closes with the entrance of America and Illinois into the world war, joining with the allied nations of the world in the great struggle to make the world and our Illinois a safer and a happier place in which to live and labor.

"Ye who would learn the glory of your past and form a
forecast of the things to be,
"Give heed to this a mighty trumpet blast and see
"Her pictured life in pageantry."

PLANTING A CENTENNIAL TREE

An interesting little pageant was used in connection with the plan for the planting of a Centennial tree on Arbor Day, April 19. This was prepared by Hon. Francis G. Blair, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and was sent to all of the schools in the State. As Arbor Day came on the day following the Centennial of the adoption of the Enabling Act, permitting Illinois to form a Constitution and organize a State government, the planting of this

tree had special Centennial significance. It will stand as a memorial to the State's hundred years.

In his appeal for the planting of Centennial trees, Mr. Blair said:

"While at work with spade and ax cutting out undergrowth and transplanting some of it, a messenger arrived bringing the news of the birth of a nephew. A young, sturdy elm that had begun life on its own hook in an impossible sort of a place had just been taken up. Why not replant this elm in honor of the new-born boy? A place was chosen and the tree was planted. As soon as the lad was old enough to understand he was introduced to his twin, the elm. Now, as in the strength of his young manhood he goes forth under the colors to fight in the world's greatest war for the world's greatest cause, that towering young elm takes on a new meaning.

"It may have been that incident which brought the suggestion of planting the Centennial tree. Be that as it may, believing that this year presents a rare occasion, I am recommending that every school in Illinois shall plant a Centennial tree. To make this ceremony more impressive, I have written and arranged the program of exercises as herein presented."

THE LINCOLN-NEW SALEM PAGEANT

It is impossible to give more than passing notice to the many interesting presentations of Masques and Pageants in the various counties of the State.

The Director of the Centennial celebration in his report has mentioned many of them. It seems however, proper to mention the "Lincoln-New Salem Pageant" on account of the interest and pride felt by every one in all that concerns Illinois' foremost citizen.

The Pageant was presented at the site of the home of Mr. Lincoln's young manhood at New Salem, by the Old Salem-Lincoln League on September 2-3, 1918. A brief account of this celebration seems appropriate.

The life of Abraham Lincoln at New Salem, where he resided from 1831-1837, was pictured in a pageant given there under the auspices of the Old Salem-Lincoln League on Monday and Tuesday, September 2-3. Replicas of the Lincoln and Berry store; the Rutledge Inn; some of the old log cabins and the reconstruction of the road through the village, gave a touch of realism to the pageant which was enacted on New Salem Hill. People from all over Central Illinois and some visitors from a greater distance attended the pageant.

The League proposes to continue with the work of reconstruction and intends eventually to have the entire village rebuilt as nearly as possible as it was when Lincoln lived there.

Many of the actors in the pageant were descendants of the Clarys, the Armstrongs, the Greenes, the Watkins, the Spears, and the Pratts, and other families who made up the citizenship of the village of New Salem when Lincoln kept store there. The pageant was given from four-thirty to six-thirty in the afternoons of Monday and Tuesday, and a barbecue, such as they had in Lincoln's day, was one of the features on Monday. Refreshments were served at the Rutledge Inn on both days.

The pageant was beautiful as well as instructive. It opened with a scene showing Mother Nature preparing for the events that were to take place. The first episode represents the arrival of Lincoln at New Salem in 1831. The flat-boat lodges at the dam and Denton Offut announces that he has decided to open a store with the cargo in the flat-boat, and engages Lincoln to work as clerk in the new store.

In the second episode, the scene is in September of the same year. The Clary's Grove boys arrive in the village to attend the autumn festivities and the famous wrestling match between Lincoln and the champion of Clary's Grove occurs.

The third episode shows Lincoln leaving for the Black Hawk War in April, 1832. The Clary's Grove boys elect Lincoln as their captain and march away.

The scene of the fourth episode is on a Sunday morning in New Salem. Lincoln pleads his cause with Ann Rutledge. This is one of the most touching scenes. Ann Rutledge departs for college

in Jacksonville and the scene ends with her death and the departure of Lincoln for Springfield. There is an interlude in which the progress and prosperity of the State is shown by interpretative dances of peace and plenty. Then comes the fifth episode. It shows Lincoln's farewell to Illinois.

Another interlude follows and the pageant ends with the grief of New Salem over the death of Lincoln.

The pageant is followed by a masque in celebration of the Centennial of the State.

The pageant and masque were presented under the direction of Mrs. Florence Magill Wallace.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial report of the Illinois Centennial Commission, an account of the disbursements of the fund appropriated for the Illinois Centennial Celebration by the Fiftieth General Assembly:

Total appropriation by the Fiftieth General Assembly, \$160,000.

This appropriation was made in a lump sum and this budget was arranged by the Centennial Commission for convenience and for an equitable division of the fund.

	Budget.	Disbursements.	Balance.
I. <i>Publications</i>	\$30,000.00	\$16,089.50	\$13,910.50
II. <i>Salaries.</i>			
Director's office.....	25,332.44	23,758.69	1,573.75
Office commission ...	8,390.00	7,477.24	912.76
	<u>\$33,722.44</u>	<u>\$31,235.93</u>	<u>\$ 2,486.51</u>
III. <i>Expense Directors.</i>			
Office—			
Stationery and supplies	3,000.00	2,213.56	786.44
Equipment	1,000.00	788.28	211.72
Telephone and telegraph	500.00	203.48	296.52
Postage and express.	5,000.00	3,425.55	1,574.45
Printing	5,500.00	5,444.30	55.70
Traveling expense ...	4,000.00	2,910.61	1,089.39
Contingent	1,000.00	163.16	836.84
	<u>\$20,000.00</u>	<u>\$15,148.94</u>	<u>\$ 4,851.06</u>
IV. <i>Miscellaneous.</i>			
Expense Commission.	10,000.00	3,482.71	6,517.29
Poster	5,000.00	3,767.74	1,232.26
Writing and publishing music	3,000.00	2,127.09	872.91
Centennial banner ...	1,500.00	941.05	558.95
Expense official guests, etc.	10,000.00	1,634.89	8,365.11
Special publicity	3,000.00	2,298.88	701.12
	<u>\$32,500.00</u>	<u>\$14,252.36</u>	<u>\$18,247.64</u>
V. <i>Official Celebrations.</i>			
Dec. 3, 1917.....	1,276.86	1,276.86	
Feb. 12, 1918.....	128.45	128.45	
Apr. 18, 1918.....	1,000.00	789.97	210.03
Kaskaskia, July 4, 1918	1,000.00	425.14	574.86
Centennial Fair	5,000.00	5,000.00	
Aug. 26, 1918.....	4,500.00	4,427.61	72.39
Vandalia, Sept. 24-26, 1918	2,000.00	1,714.60	285.40
Oct. 5-6, 1918.....	14,500.00	9,841.82	4,658.18
Dec. 3, 1918.....	2,000.00	578.05	1,421.95
Prizes and medals			
International Live Stock Show	500.00		500.00
Contingent	11,872.25	1,719.36	10,152.89
	<u>\$43,777.56</u>	<u>\$25,901.86</u>	<u>\$17,875.70</u>

FINANCIAL REPORT

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Total appropriation	\$160,000.00
Total disbursements	102,628.59

Balance on hand June 17, 1919..... \$57,371.41

CONTRACTS AND ORDERS OUTSTANDING AGAINST THE BALANCE OF APPROPRIATION OF THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION ON June 17, 1919.

Publication Fund.

Original item in budget for publication fund.....	\$30,000.00
Disbursements	16,089.50

Balance in fund..... \$13,910.50

There must be paid from this fund the contract with McClurg & Co., for the publication of the Centennial history, \$11,500.00; the remainder of the fund will be entirely used by the expenses of the work necessary to the completion of the volumes—editorial work, proof reading, final payment of authors and assistants, etc.

A contingent fund of \$1,000.00 must also be allowed for the distribution of the Centennial history as the publication fund is not sufficient for this purpose... 1,000.00

Total for the publication fund..... \$14,910.50

Expenses of Commission.

The Centennial Commission appropriated for the preparation, publication, distribution, etc., of the report of the Commission the sum of..... 5,000.00

A contingent fund for the expenses of the Commission of \$2,000.00 must be retained..... 2,000.00

Total for expenses of Commission..... \$7,000.00

21,910.50

* There are therefore, contracts and pledges against the Commission, leaving a free cash balance on June 17, 1919, of..... \$35,460.91

* When the final payment for the Centennial History was made it was found that on account of the changes in the price of labor, paper, etc., the estimates had been insufficient and the final balance paid into the State Treasury from the \$160,000 appropriated to the Centennial Commission was \$32,274.28.

Official Celebrations

OFFICIAL CELEBRATIONS

By the term official celebrations is meant those which were held under the auspices of the Centennial Commission. The important anniversaries of the centenary of the State were:

- I. The one hundredth anniversary of the passage of the Act of Congress, April 18, 1818, authorizing the Territory of Illinois to form a State Constitution and Government, called the Enabling Act.
- II. The promulgation of the first State Constitution, August 26, 1818.
- III. The organization of the State Government by the meeting of the First General Assembly, October 5, 1818, and the inauguration of the first Governor of the State, October 6, 1818.
- IV. The formal admission of Illinois as a State of the Federal Union by Act of Congress approved, December 3, 1818.
- V. The Commission also observed December 3, 1917, the ninety-ninth anniversary of the admission of the State, the real beginning of the State Centennial.

The Commission decided that some official observance of the Centennial should be held in the towns which had been the capital cities of Illinois during her first century. Accordingly a celebration was held at Kaskaskia, or in the neighborhood of what remains of the historic little city which was once the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley.

- VI. The citizens of Randolph County arranged for a celebration on July 4 at Chester, and united with the Commission in an observance at the Pioneer Cemetery overlooking all that is left of historic Kaskaskia.

- VII. An appropriate observance of the Centennial was held at Vandalia, September 24, 25, 26, by the citizens of Fayette County and Vandalia and the Centennial Commission.
- VIII. The Birthday of Abraham Lincoln is of course observed each year by the Lincoln Centennial Association. In the Centennial year the Lincoln Association invited the Centennial Commission to cooperate with it, and the Commission gladly accepted the invitation and a most impressive observance was held under their joint auspices on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1918.

These important historical anniversaries and historic towns were each fittingly commemorated. Governor Frank O. Lowden gave to the Centennial observance earnest and unfailing support and encouragement. By timely official proclamations and eloquent orations he not only gave the stamp of his official approval to the Centennial observance, but through his papers and addresses he contributed largely to the history and literature of the Centenary of the State.

- I. December 3, 1917, the ninety-ninth anniversary of the admission of the State Illinois into the Federal Union.
- II. February 12, 1918, the one hundred and ninth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.
- III. April 18, 1918, the Centenary of the approval of the Act of Congress authorizing the Territory of Illinois to form a State Constitution and Government.
- IV. July 4, 1918. Independence Day.

The one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the capture of Kaskaskia and the Illinois Country by Colonel George Rogers Clark. Celebration at Chester and at the Pioneer Cemetery overlooking, from the hill, Kaskaskia Island, the remnant of Old Kaskaskia.

- V. August 26, 1918, the Centenary of the promulgation of the Constitution of 1818, the first Constitution of the State of Illinois.
- VI. September 25, 1918, official celebration at Vandalia, the second Capital of the State of Illinois.

- VII. October 5-6, 1918. The Centenary of the inauguration of the Government of the State of Illinois.
Laying the corner-stone of the Centennial Memorial Building.
Dedication of the statue of Abraham Lincoln.
Dedication of the statue of Stephen A. Douglas.
- VIII. December 3, 1918. The Centenary of the approval by the President of the Act of Congress declaring Illinois a sovereign State of the American Union.

ILLINOIS DAY, DECEMBER 3, 1917

THE PROGRAM FOR THE EVENING

Music—Star Spangled Banner.

Invocation—Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh, S. J., a member of the Centennial Commission.

Introduction of Governor Lowden, who presided—Doctor Otto L. Schmidt, Chairman, Illinois Centennial Commission.

Hon. Frank O. Lowden—The Illinois Centennial.

Hon. Lawrence Y. Sherman—Illinois, the Frontier State.

*Hon. Charles S. Deneen—The Pioneer State.

Centennial Poem—Mr. Wallace Rice.

Hon. Joseph W. Fifer—Illinois in the Civil War.

Hon. Edward F. Dunne—Illinois' Men of Eloquence.

Hon. Richard Yates—Illinois Today.

Music—Illinois.

OBSERVANCE OF THE NINETY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMIS- SION OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS INTO THE FEDERAL UNION.

The entrance of Illinois into its Centennial was observed in many places throughout the State.

At Springfield the Illinois Centennial Commission, the Illinois State Historical Society, cooperating, held a most impressive observance.

In the afternoon a conference of representatives of local Centennial associations was held in the Senate Chamber at the State House, presided over by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, chairman of the Centennial Commission. Addresses were made on topics of interest to these delegates, making suggestions for local celebrations.

Fifty-eight counties were represented at the meeting. A Round Table discussion of plans by these representatives was an interesting feature of the afternoon session.

* Governor Deneen was at the last moment prevented by important business from being present.

At five o'clock in the afternoon a reception was given by the Governor and Mrs. Lowden at the Executive Mansion, and hundreds availed themselves of this gracious invitation to pay their respects to the Centennial Governor of Illinois and his charming family as well as to visit the historic Mansion which has been the home of sixteen of Illinois' twenty-five Governors.

THE ILLINOIS DAY BANQUET

More than four hundred guests attended the Illinois Day banquet at the Leland Hotel in the evening. It was one of the most delightful occasions of its kind ever held in the Capital of Illinois. Governor Frank O. Lowden presided and former Governors Joseph W. Fifer, Richard Yates, and Edward F. Dunne and United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman were speakers. The invocation was delivered by Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., a member of the Commission. Wallace Rice read an original poem, "Illinois and War."

In introducing Governor Lowden as toastmaster, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, chairman of the Commission said:

"A hundred years ago in the last year of Illinois as a territory its course towards statehood was guided by men of sterling worth, men who proved themselves in the future to deserve their reputation. Today, we are in a crisis greater than that of a hundred years ago. And now the State is guided by a man who has already proved himself a worthy successor to those who have preceded him and without question, will prove to us in the future that the people have not misplaced their confidence and the name of the Centennial Governor—the War Governor, will shed new splendor upon the shining roll of Illinois' illustrious sons."

At the banquet special tables were reserved for the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Daughters of the American Revolution and other patriotic organizations. A table was reserved for distinguished ladies, and at this were seated Mrs. Frank O. Lowden, Mrs. John M. Palmer, Mrs. Richard J. Oglesby, Mrs. John R. Tanner, Mrs. L. L. Emmerson, Mrs. Andrew Russel, Mrs. Francis G. Blair, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Mrs. Hugh S. Magill and many other prominent women of the State.

THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL

GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Illinoisans: We are just entering upon the one hundredth year of our existence as a State. There have been those who have believed that we ought not to celebrate this anniversary because of the great perils which environ us. Others of us have felt sure that a study of our past history would inspire us to be better men and women in this crucial present.

If we shall fully realize the State which these fathers founded for us a hundred years ago, it means that we shall fully realize the price the pioneers and those who followed them until today have paid for the blessings we enjoy, and it will strengthen our arms, it will renew our courage, it will make us look with a clearer and more steadfast eye at the dangers which confront us. I believe that this celebration under the auspices of the Centennial Commission ought to be one of the most virile, one of the most persuasive and one of the most powerful of all the patriotic agencies which we of Illinois can invoke at this time. It has heartened me greatly today, the magnificent attendance at this initial meeting—men and women who know of our past, who know the sacrifices and the struggles which it has held, who know that while we have won great triumphs, we have not won those triumphs without great effort and without great devotion. They come to this capital city from every corner of the State, and their presence is a pledge that this celebration of our one hundredth anniversary will be one of the epochal events in our one hundred years of history.

Governor Lowden upon taking his place as presiding officer of the evening, made a stirring address on the Illinois Centennial. In closing his address and introducing United States Senator Sherman, he said:

"But I am here, I realize, not to make a speech, but to introduce to you those who will. I regret exceedingly that Governor Deneen, who was to respond to the first toast, is unavoidably detained. While I regret his absence I congratulate you that his place will be most ably filled by Lawrence Y. Sherman, who will respond to the toast, 'The Pioneer State.' And while I as a

Governor do not concede that any mere United States Senator can take the place of any ex-Governor, I am willing, however, to admit that you will hear one of the best speeches you have ever heard in your life by Senator Sherman."

THE FRONTIER STATE

UNITED STATES SENATOR L. Y. SHERMAN

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Commission, and my Fellow Citizens: The subject assigned me is "The Pioneer State." I came here to be a member of the audience. I think I could add to the appreciative interest of the audience if I were permitted to sit and listen to the addresses.

I remember more about the pioneers than I do about the pioneer State. These pioneers were a sturdy lot. They had to be; they could not have survived in any other way. They made the pioneer State what it was in those days. There were the pioneers of Turkey Hill. Turkey Hill was the predecessor of Belleville. There were the pioneers of English Prairie which in that part of the country was called Little Britain. There were the pioneers of the Scandinavian settlement in Henry County which gave its impress to a very large part of the population of the pioneer State. There were the pioneers of Portuguese religious refugees who made up a distinguishing feature of the early settlers in Sangamon and Morgan counties; there were the pioneers of the Icarian community which came along about the time that the Mormons left on their long pilgrimage to Salt Lake City, and settled at Nauvoo in Hancock County on the east bank of the Mississippi River.

Cabet, a Frenchman and member of the French Chamber of Deputies and editor of a newspaper, had some ideas that were unpopular in his own country. He got together a colony of adherents of his ideas and came to the New World, finally settling at Nauvoo. The Icarian community flourished for many years but it at last fell a prey to the constitutional defects incident to that form of human society. It failed, the land was distributed and sold at foreclosure, finally passing into the hands of those who held it in

severalty and it now belongs to prosaic Hancock County farmers engaged in raising grain and meats and furnishing their part towards the provisioning of the army that we are starting across the sea. Cabet was willing to risk his fortune in an effort to make this experiment. I saw one of the last surviving members several years ago while on a visit to Nauvoo. He was then eighty-five years of age. He had lived in three continents. He spoke fluently three languages, was well educated and had seen much of the world and knew human nature. I asked him why the experiment failed, since the community had all property in common, labor in common, and sent their children to a common house to be reared, to be fed at a common table, educated in a common way by a common mother, all the cares of maternal life assumed by the community with everybody having the same kind of meals, the same kind of treatment, the same kind of clothes, with nobody possessing too much and none too little. He looked at me long and soberly and said: "It failed and will continue to fail because the Almighty has made the human race as it is." A few of the descendants are up there yet and they have added their quota to the mixture which has made up the pioneer State of Illinois.

These are particular localities. Other nations which have sent their sturdy emigrants to our borders left their impress upon our institutions and upon the history of our State. These men of the pioneer race that emigrated to our State and laid the foundations of an empire of six millions of people were the real pioneers of Illinois. They were a self-reliant, self-possessed lot. I have said a good many times about the man dwelling in the large cities of our State, that if the average boy of the city were taken by the scruff of the neck and thrown into the middle of a great prairie or a great forest that he would nearly starve to death by his inability to take care of himself in such new surroundings.

The pioneer of Illinois learned to take care of himself on the boundless prairies and in the illimitable forests. He knew the laws of nature. He knew the action of the elements. He knew the peculiarities of the aboriginal inhabitants with whom he struggled part of the time and made peace the rest of the time. He knew how to live in the wooded belts of this country. He knew how to

extract a livelihood from the great plains, and in both the woodlands and the prairie land he learned to be a pioneer, and from the rugged elements furnished by Old Mother Nature he learned to extract a livelihood and subjugate their rude resources and to build up from all these elements given him the foundations of a mighty State. These were the empire builders of Illinois.

How many boys could go out from Springfield into timber land with powder, tinder, flint lock gun and knife and without any of the provisions or requirements of civilized life sustain their own lives against all comers either man or beast? Our pioneer fathers came to Illinois and crossed the Ohio River from the dark and bloody ground of old Kentucky in the days of Boone and Simon Kenton, and literally they lived upon what nature furnished them from the beginning. They had neither bread, meat nor salt. They had only their sturdy hands, their courageous hearts, their clear eyes and their resolute wills and with these as a mighty power given them by their Maker from above they laid the cornerstones and hewed out the foundations of Illinois. How many, I repeat, of the boys raised in the city, young men from eighteen to forty years of age could go out on the prairie and in the timber of a mighty wilderness and with nothing but a rifle or a hunting knife carve out their livelihood and build there huts and raise their families and defend themselves against all the elements and the wild beasts and still wilder men that preyed upon them? That is the test.

We return in such circumstances to the original primeval strength of human nature and the greatness of human character against difficulties. We of this day, of the more modern Illinois are not facing the same elements, facing the same duties of our pioneer ancestors of Illinois and of the Middle West of our country. We are not facing that kind of problem now but, with the civilized agencies at hand, with all that science has done to make effective our efforts, whether they be of peace or war, we are now facing in Illinois and in all the states of the Union a greater problem than any of our pioneer ancestors met to maintain themselves and their families in the face of rugged nature. We today, with all the civilized agencies about to be invoked for and against us, are facing the problem of helping to maintain free government in the world

against the autocracy of Germany. We may thank our great Father above that he gave to our ancestors blood and sturdy frame to transmit to us of this generation the same characteristics to be used in a different way, it is true, but the same masculine strength that will be required to meet our full responsibility in the great struggle we now face.

I predict that the great State of Illinois will be no laggard in this task and as our fathers faced the struggle with the elements so shall we of this generation face the struggle with men in mortal combat wherever and whenever necessary, that we may give a good account of ourselves with our Allies across the sea, that we shall help check the break at the last in the Italian line, that we shall be at last present in a united effort with Haig and Foch and Pershing on the von Hindenburg front when it is sent back in its retreat and broken until it will retire to the other side of the Rhine where it belongs. We of this pioneer State of Illinois will be found at last on every front and we will bring or help to bring peace to a troubled world as the supreme duty of civilized man at this hour and time.

I thank you for the opportunity to look into your faces and say these few words to you. I came to listen and to be informed. I never have been Governor of this State. Here are four who either have been or now are Governors. They know more about this State than I do. They have had practical experience. Mine, outside of the Legislature, has been largely theoretical. Not one of these Governors or ex-Governors that are facing me now that I have not advised many times what to do. Many times they seemed to know more about how to do it than I did, and after it was all done I am not prepared to say but that they were right. But these Governors are the successors to a mighty line of executives in this State. Beginning with Shadrach Bond and ending with Frank Lowden, there never has been a Governor of Illinois that could not stand among his fellows of all our country and in the sight of his constituents give a fair account of himself and his administration. I thank you and the chairman and toastmaster of the evening for this opportunity to meet with you. Inside of two days I shall be sitting over on the left hand side of President Marshall and from

that time on until next summer, outside of voting taxes and talking I do not expect to do anything else, so get your pocketbooks out and be ready. But the taxes will be for war purposes. It is not all shouting and rallying around the flag; part of it is paying taxes and we are going to have plenty of that before this is over. I now surrender, Mr. Chairman, the time that I have left and will listen for the remainder of the evening.

ILLINOIS IN THE CIVIL WAR

JOSEPH W. FIFER, GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, 1889-1893

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am indeed glad to be here upon this most interesting occasion. It is highly proper that we celebrate the anniversary of the day when Illinois became a member of the Federal Union, and this celebration is only a prelude to the greater one that is to follow next year.

Illinois is associated with the earliest history of our country. It cut some figure in that long war between the Latin and the English speaking peoples for the possession of a continent. It will be remembered at an early day the French took possession of Canada and extended westward to Sault Ste. Marie, then turning southward they took possession of the territory around Chicago, LaSalle, Peoria and Kaskaskia, thence they followed the Mississippi to its mouth, thus forming a semicircle around what is now the eastern portion of the United States. At many places they built forts, made settlements and left the impress of their names upon our State. Some were gold seekers; but the main object of some, however, was to Christianize and civilize the Indian, and the work of LaSalle, Marquette and others in this regard is worthy of all praise and their efforts mark them as among the most exalted moral characters of history.

A little while before this the English settled at Jamestown and Plymouth and soon thereafter they were joined by the Dutch of New York and the Germans of Pennsylvania. They were peoples of the home and the fireside. They felled the forest, erected churches, school houses and institutions. In time they followed the star of empire westward across the Alleghany Moun-

tains and landed in the great Mississippi Valley and thus came in conflict with the French settlements and civilization which I have described. Then was begun a chronic warfare lasting for many years and which finally culminated in the Victory at Quebec on the Heights of Abraham, when the greater portion of this vast continent passed forever from the hands of the Latin into the hands of the English speaking peoples.

In time the colonies declared their independence of the mother country and during the war which ensued England held what is known as the Northwest Territory by three fortifications, located respectively at Detroit, Michigan; Vincennes, Indiana, and Kaskaskia, Illinois. Hamilton, the English Governor of the territory, was constantly fitting out Indian expeditions during the war to prey on the frontier settlements of the colonies. Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, in order to break up these forays fitted out an expedition under George Rogers Clark, whose men were in part recruited in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. He crossed the Alleghany Mountains where additions were made to his little army. He then dropped down the Ohio River in boats improvised for the purpose, landed at some point in Massac County, this State, and from there he marched his army, composed of less than 200 men, to Kaskaskia. That place being a French town was friendly to the American cause and by the information received from a Catholic priest he had no difficulty in capturing the place and soon thereafter took Fort Gage which was the main defense of that settlement. Early the following spring he marched on Vincennes and captured that place also and with its surrender Governor Hamilton was made a prisoner and was sent by Clark under guard on horseback to Virginia where he was kept in a common jail for some time, and was afterwards exchanged. This is known in history as the conquest of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark and is one of the most thrilling pages in our national history.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, England gave up the Northwest Territory with reluctance. The United Colonies claimed it, however, by right of conquest, and the right was conceded. Out of this territory there have been carved the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, which states hold today

a population of over 20,000,000 free people. This territory fell to the state of Virginia on the facts here given, and it was by Virginia ceded to the General Government without consideration, the most munificent gift that was ever made by one people to another. By the ordinance of 1787 it was provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should ever exist in the territory. It should be said in this connection that largely through the efforts of Edward Coles, another Virginian, one of the early Governors of our State, and for a time private secretary to Mr. Madison, Illinois remained a free State. All of which affords some foundation for the speech of an eloquent Virginian, who, in reference to his own State, said, "Although her territory may be overrun by hostile armies and her fields washed into gullies, still the product of her soil has been heroes and statesmen."

The passing years rolled by and Illinois became part and parcel of the Federal Union and her history then mingled with the broader stream of our National life and is as familiar as the primer to every school boy.

Illinois is today the broadest and richest agricultural expanse beneath the sun. This little sensation at the pit of the stomach which we call hunger has caused vast migrations. It brought our Aryan forefathers into Europe. The track of man has always been toward the most abundant food supply and this fact is destined to make Illinois the most popular State in the Union. She has 56,000 square miles of territory, 36,000 of which is underlaid with coal, which gives her a double wealth and makes it possible for her to become the greatest manufacturing State. Her manufactured products now reach millions of human beings and find their way into the remotest corners of the civilized world. Within her borders, school houses and churches are never out of sight. She has approximately 7,000,000 of people who are among the freeest, the most industrious, the most intelligent and virtuous people in the world. They now, at the close of the first century of their State's existence, turn their faces in hope and confidence toward the great future of this great land which the fathers have conquered and bequeathed to us as an inheritance forever.

To nearly every generation falls the duty of performing some heavy task. Our heroic forefathers fought the Revolutionary War to a successful conclusion and planted free institutions in a wilderness. To the generation of 1812 fell the duty of defending the rights of American seamen and Lundy's Lane and that acute tragedy at New Orleans under Jackson attest the heroism of our soldiers at that period. Again the fortitude and valor of America's volunteer soldiers was displayed in the war with Mexico; a war that gave us a vast territory out of which great states have been carved; states now filled with intelligence and wealth and all the progressive ideas of our modern civilization.

Possibly the heaviest task of all fell to the generation of 1861. It was early prophesied by the great statesmen of early times that if there should ever be civil war between the north and the south, Illinois, by reason of her geographical position, was destined to become a conspicuous figure, and such prophecy was fulfilled in good round measure.

Scarcely had the Federal Union been formed until the question was asked, "Has a state the right to dissolve it?" On one side of that question were ranged the Kentucky and Virginian resolutions, those who wrote them and all who advocated their principles. On the other side were the luminous opinions of Marshall, the convincing orations of Hamilton and Webster and the imposing majesty of Washington. Heated discussion and much ill will arose. One side maintained that this was a weak league of states, any one of which might any day jostle from its uncertain place in the Union; the other said, "No, we are a Nation with a Nation's rights and a Nation's power, grand, sovereign and free." The conflict was indeed irrepressible. Early in '61 a dark cloud rose out of the gulf and hung ominously over Kentucky and Tennessee. From out of that cloud the lightnings finally struck and we older ones know what followed, but none can ever describe it.

It were idle now to contend in the pride of individual opinion where the right lay in that great conflict. History is already recording the final verdict and that verdict will be just and kind to all, but let no faint-hearted patriot doubt that God's eternal

truth will be established in it. We are glad to believe the courage displayed on both sides is now the common heritage of the great American people.

In that great crisis Illinois with a population of little over one and a half millions gave to the cause of the Union in round numbers, 260,000 soldiers, among them being over 60 generals. She was conspicuous in all the battlefields of the West, and her soldiers won renown in every battle in which they were engaged. It was around the bivouac fires of the soldiers of Illinois that were organized the beginnings of victory. She furnished at least two-thirds of the army that took Vicksburg and of the 36 regiments at the battle of Fort Donelson, she furnished 19, and it was there that the silent man from Galena voiced the Nation's high resolve in the demand for immediate and unconditional surrender. A plain, simple, silent man who from humble beginnings rose step by step until he became the greatest soldier of the modern world; with his head far above the clouds while the lightning played only about his feet.

As our State furnished the great soldier for that historic crisis she was destined also to furnish the great statesman. Illinois, if she had done nothing more, would have done her full duty in giving to the country Abraham Lincoln. Many another star rose and set in that great conflict, but his burned with an ever increasing luster to the last. Great, serene, and steadfast, a statesman, yet one of the people, and trusting only God more than the people, Lincoln seized the helm of State in the darkest hour this Nation ever saw and left it in the dawn of a resplendent glory to lie down weary and broken beneath a monument of public gratitude, the greatest and most enduring that marks the grave of mortal man today.

We of the great prairie State will always feel proud it was two citizens of Illinois, Lincoln and Grant, who completed the work begun by Washington and Hamilton, cemented forever the jostling fragments of the Union and made the term "American Citizens indeed the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it." If you would know the full story of Illinois in the great Civil War then go read the records in yonder Capitol and learn the story

how, into the balance of destiny wherein a half a century ago uncertainly trembled, the fate of the Republic, Illinois drew her sword and helped to turn the scale. How her brave sons stood shoulder to shoulder with their comrades of so many sister states, baring their bosoms to the storm that so nearly rent a Nation.

Since these tragic events I have passed from a young to an old man and I had hoped never to see another war. I know from bitter experience something of the allurements of war. The advancing bayonet line of victory has always been an imposing spectacle, and the assaulting column stands ever in the focus of the world's attention. I should like, after the war, to direct the minds of our people from the soaring eagle and the splintered crag to the peaceful vocations of life; to a nation of happy homes, to flaming forges and waving fields of grain. And for our future security, I would not rely alone upon battleships, forts and arsenals, but upon our school houses and churches, as well. Surely the far-off day will come when nations shall not be ruled by force. That day is distant, I know, but it will come in God's own good time and when it does, we shall, let us hope, behold a land without a soldier and without a beggar.

We have recently witnessed the events of the Spanish War in which our brave soldiers drove a tyrant from the Western Hemisphere and gave liberty to a people. Now we are far into the fourth year of the greatest war of all history, and in the language of the great Douglas there can be but two parties, patriots and traitors. President Wilson is not of my party and I differ from him regarding industrial questions affecting the public welfare. But he is my President and the President of 100,000,000 free people and I shall do what I can to uphold his hands until an honorable and a lasting peace shall be secured.

Into the keeping of the young men who are now going forth to do battle for their country we commit our flag with all the hallowed memories that cluster about it. I have looked into many of the determined and intelligent faces of these young men and I am sure they will constitute the most effective and courageous army that was ever marshalled under our flag. I am sure too that they will carry that flag in triumph across the bloody battlefields

of Europe and will bring it back with victory written all over its ample folds and thereby add additional honor and glory to the imperishable history of past achievements. And when they return in triumph to their native land they will be welcomed by glad hands to the freest, the happiest and the most prosperous country in the world.

If I believed this war was being waged for conquest and vain glory, I should oppose it. If I believed this war to be only the prelude to still other wars and was not being waged for the peace of the world, I should oppose it. I hope and believe this conflict will teach the world the great lesson, that at the bar of history prior adjudications of armed force cannot be pleaded and that he who would win in the Supreme Court of civilized opinion must leave captured colors and the spoils of cities and come with fruits of justice and humanity in his hands. To this judgment bar the great American people are content to rest their cause and invoke the considerate judgment of mankind. And, should that judgment be in our favor there shall bloom on earth at last the snow-white flower of Universal Peace.

THE ORATORS OF ILLINOIS

EDWARD F. DUNNE, GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, 1913-1917

Today we enter the year, the last day of which marks the centenary of the admission of the great State of Illinois into the Union. The citizens of no State in this great Republic have better reason to celebrate the State's centenary than have the citizens of Illinois. Within a hundred years she has advanced among these States from a sparsely settled, frontier State having a population less than the city of Springfield has today, to the third place among the States of the Union, in population and political and commercial power.

On such an occasion, it is well to mark and point with pride to the material progress of the State, and during the year upon which we are now entering that progress and prosperity of Illinois will be dwelt upon by many a tongue within the borders of Illinois.

We are, however, in my judgment, altogether too prone in this material age to point with pride to, and boast of, mere material and financial strength. It has occurred to me that the spiritual and intellectual history of the State has been altogether too much neglected by the historian.

We never cease to point to the fact that Illinois has distanced all of her sister States, excepting two, in population and commerce; that she stands first in agricultural wealth, fertility of soil and railway development, and second today in the possession of all wealth, but we should be equally proud to boast that it was upon the soil of Illinois that Pere Marquette made most of his important discoveries. We should be equally proud of the achievements within her borders of LaSalle and Joliet, Tonti and Hennepin.

We should be equally proud of the fact that the hardy pioneers of Illinois dwelling around Kaskaskia anticipated, as far back as 1771, the demands of the colonists in Massachusetts, New York and Virginia, when they repudiated Lord Dartmouth's "Sketch of Government of Illinois" as being "oppressive and absurd" and declared that "should a government so evidently tyrannical be established, it could be of no duration. There would exist the necessity of its being abolished." This declaration of independence antedates that of 1776 in Philadelphia by nearly five years.

We should be equally proud of the fact that on Illinois soil took place, on July 4, 1778, the struggle resulting in the capture from the English, by George Rogers Clark, of the Fort of Kaskaskia, which wrested forever from the British crown all the territory west of Pennsylvania lying between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

We should be equally proud of the fact that it was upon the prairies of Illinois that the two greatest Americans of their day, citizens of Illinois, Lincoln and Douglas, discussed in joint debate the greatest moral question ever presented to a free people—the question as to whether a Republic of free men could endure with human slavery legally enforced in one part of it and legally prohibited in another.

We should be equally proud, if not more proud, that when that question was finally settled by the awful arbitrament of Civil War, it was a citizen of Illinois who was President in the White House and a citizen of Illinois, in the person of U. S. Grant, who led the victorious armies of the Republic to a final and complete victory, backed by the valor of 250,000 of the sons of Illinois upon the battlefield.

And at such a time as this, it occurs to me, that the orators and oratory of Illinois should not be overlooked. Every epoch of history finds a tongue, and every crisis in the affairs of nations, find an evangel. This is the history of the world and this is the history of Illinois and this Republic. Since the Revolutionary War this country has faced two great epoch-making crises—the War of the Rebellion in 1861 and the war for the preservation of democracy in 1917. In both crises, the State of Illinois found its tongue, in the persons of great orators and statesmen. In the crisis of 1861, not only did Illinois furnish in the Presidency a gifted orator from whose eloquent tongue fell the classic of Gettysburg, but two other men of lofty eloquence in the persons of Stephen A. Douglas and Edward Dickinson Baker.

In view of all that has been uttered of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas by abler tongues than mine, I will not on this occasion add a single word to mar the completeness of eulogy which has heretofore been theirs and which shall remain theirs as long as man shall read and assimilate history. Let me devote my attention, but briefly, to the wonderful part played by Edward Dickinson Baker in the history of the State and the nation as the mouth-piece of the people at the opening of the Civil War.

There is hung in the mansion at Springfield the oil painting of a singularly handsome man—by the way, the only oil painting in the mansion. When elected Governor of this State, my attention was attracted to this picture and I must confess, to my humiliation and shame, that for some time I was unable to discover who was the original. I was too young in 1861 to have heard in my boyhood of this great man nor had I ever seen a portrait of Senator Baker until I entered the mansion. Upon inquiry, I discovered that the oil painting of this handsome man

was that of Edward D. Baker, colonel of volunteers in the war of the rebellion and United States Senator from Oregon, one of the most patriotically eloquent men of his day. While at the time of his death, he was United States Senator from the state of Oregon, Senator Baker was a thoroughly Illinois production. On the fourth day of July, 1837, he had established such a reputation for eloquence in the city of Springfield where he lived that he was selected by a committee who had under consideration Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, James Shields, Lyman Trumbull, James A. McDougall and John A. McClernand as the orator to deliver an oration appropriate to the laying of the cornerstone of the new State House in Springfield. Thereafter he was elected to the lower house of the General Assembly from the county of Sangamon, and shortly afterwards to the State Senate. His reputation for eloquence as a member of the Legislature for several terms secured his election to Congress from the Springfield district. Almost immediately he distinguished himself as one of the leading and most influential and eloquent members of the National House of Representatives. On the death of President Taylor, he was selected by Congress to deliver the memorial address. It proved to be as choice a specimen of eloquence as can be found in the records of Congress. The concluding sentence of this noble speech may well be quoted here: "The President during whose administration the war commenced, 'sleeps in the house appointed for all the living,' and the great soldier who had led the advance and assured the triumph, 'lies like a warrior taking his rest.' Ah, sir, if in this assembly there is a man whose heart beats with tumultuous, and unrestrained ambition let him today stand by the bier on which that lifeless body is laid, and learn how much of human greatness fades in an hour. But if there be another here, whose fainting heart shrinks from a noble purpose, let him too, visit those sacred remains, to be reminded how much there is in true glory that can never die." This great oration was delivered in the month of July, 1850. Within a short time thereafter, attracted by the lure of the gold discoveries in California, we find him practising his profession as a lawyer in that great state. Here again the innate and irrepressible eloquence of the man breaks

out in a classic delivered over the dead body of Senator Broderick who fell in a duel with Judge Terry. In that great effort is recorded as fierce and as powerful a protest against the "Code of honor" as is contained in the English language. Listen to his words:

"Today I renew my protest; today I utter yours. The code of honor is a delusion and a snare; it palters with the hope of a true courage, and binds it at the feet of crafty and cruel skill. It surrounds its victim with the pomp and grace of the procession, but leaves him bleeding on the altar. It substitutes cold and deliberate preparations for courageous and manly impulse, and arms the one to disarm the other; it may prevent fraud between practiced duelists, who should be forever without its pale, but it makes the mere 'trick of the weapon' superior to the noblest cause and the truest courage. Its pretense of equality is a lie; it is equal in all of the form, it is unjust in all the substance—the habitude of arms, the early training, the frontier life, the border war, the sectional custom, the life of leisure—all these are advantages which no negotiations can neutralize, and which no courage can overcome."

He concludes that noble oration with these eloquent words: "But the last word must be spoken, and the imperious mandate of death must be fulfilled. Thus, O, brave heart, we bear thee to thy rest! Thus, surrounded by tens of thousands, we leave thee to the equal grave. As in life no other voice among us so rang its trumpet blast upon the ear of free-men, so in death its echoes will reverberate amid our mountains and valleys, until truth and valor cease to appeal to the human heart. Good friend! true hero; hail and farewell."

FIRST MEMORIAL ADDRESS

Upon his election to the United States Senate, he at once leaped into front place as one of the orators of that august body. His first memorable speech in the United States Senate was in answer to that of Judah P. Benjamin, senator from Louisiana, in which he successfully combated the right of the state of South Carolina to secede from the Union. The whole oration is one of

matchless logic and exalted eloquence. I quote merely from its peroration:

"Whatever moderation, whatever that great healer, time, whatever the mediation of those allied to these people in blood, in sympathy, in interest, may effect—let that be done: but at last, let the laws be maintained, and the Union be preserved.
* * * As I take my leave of a subject, upon which I have detained you too long, I think in my own mind, whether I shall add anything in my feeble way to the hopes, the prayers, the aspirations, that are going forth daily for the perpetuity of the union of these states. I ask myself, shall I add anything to that volume of invocation which is everywhere rising up to high Heaven, 'Spare us from the madness and disunion and Civil War?'"

"Speaking upon this subject, I cannot forget that I am standing in a place once occupied by one far mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. It was upon this subject of secession, of disunion, of discord, of Civil War, that Mr. Webster uttered immortal sentiments, clothed in immortal words, married to the noblest expressions that ever fell from human lips; which alone would have made him memorable, and remembered forever. Sir, I cannot improve upon those expressions. They were uttered nearly thirty years ago, in the face of what was imagined to be a great danger, then happily dissipated. They were uttered in the fullness of his genius, from the fullness of his heart. They have found an echo since then in millions of homes, and in foreign lands. They have been a text-book in the schools. They have been an inspiration to public hope and to public liberty. As I close, I repeat them. If, in their presence, I were to attempt to give utterance to any words of my own, I should feel that I ought to say,

"And shall the Lyre, so long divine,
Degenerate into hands like mine?"

His last and probably most eloquent speech was delivered in the United States Senate in the full uniform of a colonel of volunteers a few days before he met his death upon the battlefield of Ball's Bluff in answer to a speech delivered by Senator Brecken-

ridge of Kentucky. The whole speech is one of exalted patriotism and eloquence, which should be read by every citizen of the republic. An idea of its power can be obtained from its closing sentence:

“Shall we sink into the insignificance of the grave, a degraded, defeated, emasculated people—frightened by the results of one battle, and scared by the visions raised by the imagination of the senator from Kentucky upon this floor. No, sir, a thousand times no. We will rally—if, indeed, our words be necessary—we will rally the people, the loyal people of the country. They will pour fourth their treasures, their money, their men, without stint and without measure. The most peaceful man in this body will stamp his foot upon this Senate floor, as of old a warrior and a senator did, and from that single stamp there will spring forth armed legions. Shall one battle, or a dozen battles, determine the fate of an empire—the loss of one thousand men or twenty thousand men—the expenditure of \$100,000,000 or \$500,000,000! In a year of peace, in ten years at most of peaceful progress, we can restore them all.

“There will be some graves reeking with blood, watered by the tears of affection. There will be some privation; there will be some loss of luxury; there will be somewhat more need of labor to procure the necessities of life. When this is said, all is said. If we have the country, the whole country, the Union, the Constitution, free government—with these will return all the blessings of a well-ordered civilization. The path of the country will be a career of greatness and glory, such, as in the olden times, our fathers saw in the dim visions of years yet to come, and such as would have been ours today had it not been for that treason for which the senator from Kentucky too often seeks to apologize.”

Such was the character of the eloquence that fell from the lips of E. D. Baker, a Springfield lawyer and former member of Congress from the State of Illinois. In this great crisis in the country's history he spoke the true sentiments of the people and truly prophesied the future, and from the days of Baker and Lincoln and Douglas down to the present day, Illinois has had in its Legislature, at its bar, and on the public rostrum men of

extraordinary eloquence and forensic power. During this year I hope some student of the great State of Illinois will take the trouble to collate and preserve for future generations some of the eloquence of Illinois' many gifted orators.

Today, in the crisis of 1917, we have in the Senate of the United States, representing this great State, probably one of the most gifted orators of our day and age in the person of Senator Lewis, and no mean rival for him in repartee and power of debate in the person of Senator Sherman. As in the great crisis of 1861, we had the tongues of Lincoln and Douglas and Baker voicing the sentiment and patriotism of the State and nation, so in this great crisis of this world-wide war we have in the Senate of the United States, expressing its patriotism and eloquence, the gifted tongue of Illinois' incomparable orator, Senator Lewis, and Illinois' able debater, Senator Sherman. Since the days of Douglas, the State of Illinois has never had a more brilliant orator and statesman in the Senate of the United States than it has today in the person of James Hamilton Lewis.

Between the names of Lincoln, Douglas and Baker down to the days of Lewis and Sherman, I find on the roster of the eloquent men which Illinois has given to the nation and the world the names of Robert G. Ingersoll, that master of pathos and imagery, the trenchant and sparkling Emory Storrs, the argumentative and persuasive Leonard Swett, the scholarly and classical Lyman Trumbull, the fiery and impetuous James Shields, whose eloquence and brilliant traits of character made him, successively, Auditor of the State of Illinois, Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, Brigadier-General of the United States Army and United States Senator from Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri, and who has attained, since his death, the unique distinction of having three separate states of the United States erect monuments to his memory within each of said states and in the capital of the United States.

Among the more recent orators of Illinois have been the ornate and flowery Richard J. Oglesby, that master of jury eloquence, W. J. Hynes, the impassioned John F. Finerty, the stately and logical John C. Black, that wizard of the banquet board, Wil-

liam J. Calhoun, and that vigorous tribune of the people, John P. Altgeld; and probably greater than all, that gifted orator who first saw the light of day in the little village of Salem, whose words, eloquence and patriotism have rung around the world, named William Jennings Bryan, the great master of Anglo-Saxon English, whose oratory has ever appealed and ever will appeal to the conscience and the intellect of the world's democracy.

I know of no state that can present a greater roster of accomplished orators than the State of Illinois, and it should be a labor of love for some of Illinois' students and historians to compile and preserve for posterity some of the brightest oratorical gems of these great sons of Illinois. The eloquence of these men has done much to shape the policies and guide the destinies of this great State and nation, and to stir the emotions of men to the accomplishment of great achievements in history.

For the honor and glory of the State the best that has fallen from the lips of its orators should be preserved in appropriate and enduring form by its historians.

The orators have spoken the breathing, burning words that inspired their fellow men to act. Let the historian now act to perpetuate these words of eloquence for the education and inspiration of generations yet to come.

ILLINOIS TODAY

RICHARD YATES, GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, 1901-1905

"Illinois Today" is my theme: not Illinois of yesterday or tomorrow—but Illinois Today.

I reiterate the theme, because I want you to know that I am fully mindful of it, inasmuch as you may possibly think I wander somewhat afield, because of the subdivision of the subject which I am unable to avoid.

This subdividing seeming to me inevitable, I am going to speak to you:

First—Of the ties which our history binds us with, to the past of Illinois—a record which we cannot ignore, or at least, must not ignore, because if we do ignore it, we do so *at our peril*.

Second—Of that Illinois which our fathers hoped we would have.

Third—Of the present conditions surrounding our State and prevailing in it.

A sincere intention to adhere to this subdivision does not prevent me from saying a certain thing to this audience. This thing I must say because I would be unfair with the audience if I were to omit it. I have not the heart to avoid reference to the thing that is uppermost every day in the heart of everyone of you—whether the day be the birthday of Illinois or not.

In the days when the most beautiful building in all the World crowned Mount Moriah, and the Presence of God filled that far-famed Temple, into that awful place and into that dreadful Presence went the High priest of the Jews, on the Day of Atonement. He went in to propitiate the offended Jehovah. He went in to offer sacrifices for the Sins of his Nation. He went in to avert the just resentment of the Almighty. In the way God himself had appointed this Priest, as intercessor, as intermediary, as advocate, as ambassador, for a whole race, an entire People, made an unconditional surrender and awaited on his knees, on his face, the decision to be given by the Judge of all Men. You can imagine his anxiety to return to the outer world and thus prove to the people that they were a forgiven and not an unforgiven nation. And you can imagine those waiting people, that praying nation, that conscience-stricken race, standing there—waiting, yearning, eyes not one instant resting upon anything else but the glittering heights almost out-shining the sun in brightness. You can imagine that nation, waiting in silence, in breathless silence, until they could learn that God was still the Forgiving God—that the favor of Heaven had not been withdrawn.

There was a way by which they could tell. If the High Priest came out alive, it was assumed and concluded that God had not withdrawn his favor, that forgiveness had once again been vouchsafed to the nation. And they could tell whether he would probably come out alive, by the sound of certain little bells worn by the High Priest upon his garment, at the bottom edge of his blue robe, the "blue ephod." As long as these little golden bells, the

wearing of which was strictly enjoined by the Almighty in His instructions given to Moses, were heard, it could be told, that the priest, the intercessor, was alive, had not been stricken with the wrath of God.

All through the past months, ever since the declaration of war by the United States, I have felt as if the boys "over there" were our representatives, our ambassadors, our hostages, our delegates, our intercessors, our intermediaries, our high priests, in a most sacred way, in a most sacred time, in a most sacred cause. They have looked into the jaws of death. They have looked into the mouth of hell. They have looked into the face of God. We, you and I, have stood aside and outside, but oh, how we have been interested—how intensely, how breathlessly!

When at last, the high priest of old came forth exalted but almost exhausted, how the people whispered, "He comes, he comes, oh, he comes." Now we are whispering "He comes, yes he comes, our boy comes!"

There have been other sacrifices. One day, four hundred years before Moses and Aaron, the moment of sacrifice came to Abraham. It is recorded "Abraham went unto the place which God had told him of. And Abraham built an altar there and laid the wood in order and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his hand and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel of the Lord called to him out of Heaven and said 'Abraham, Abraham,' and he said, 'Here I am.' And he said 'Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou say anything unto him, for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou has not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me.'"

You can imagine what Abraham meant, when he said, "Here am I." I can almost see Abraham standing there. First, there he is with the slight form of his young son in his arms. He has stooped and picked him up in his fatherly arms. Then he has laid him down, and bound him—with his own loving hands and arms, that would not hurt Isaac for anything in the world, for *all* the things in the world. Next, he looks from the face of Isaac to the altar, and from the altar up to God, and from the face of Isaac

again to the altar and again to God. But always his look comes back to the face of Isaac.

At last, he nerves himself, and with staggering haste for fear he may yet give out, he places Isaac on the altar, on the wood. Then and not until then, comes his deliverance; then the trial of Abraham's faith is over. But mark you, it is not over until God can say: "Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing that thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me."

Just so, as it seems to me, has the hour of sacrifice come to us, the American people. We have been required to offer all that we have and all that we are, and all that we ever expect to be, upon the altar of sacrifice. As a people we have done it. And I can almost hear the angel of God saying, "Now I know that thou fearest God." The Nation has withheld nothing; it has given its sons, and daughters; it has given munitions, and shot and shell; it has given ships on the sea, and under the sea, and in the sky; it has poured out its generous billions and is ready to pour out billions more, every billion it has. And now the hour has come when God is satisfied, and America's fidelity to the principles for which the great Washington warred and the great Lincoln died, has been tested and tried and found to be good and ample.

Just as in Abraham's day, Abraham's faith met the trial, so in America's day, America's faith has met the trial of war. And so has Illinois. We have sent 250,000 boys, a quarter of a million of our best, flower and cream of our youth; and, we will make it a million if our country needs them.

THE PAST OF ILLINOIS

There is one room in my home, which, in a certain sense, is haunted.

It is hero-haunted.

All libraries, great or small, are hero-haunted. And this small library of mine, is no exception.

One shelf bears only books and pamphlets and addresses made by men I have known, personally, in the flesh.

But oh, there are other shelves, from which step out, the spirits of a host, a shining, splendid host of men and women, whom

I, perhaps even I, in my humble way, may call my friends, because, like true and tested friends, they come, at a moments call, to help, to console, to bring a good heart and hope for the world that is before me.

Last night and this very morn, as I have been penning these lines, and sentences, I have felt, all about me, the friendliness of these friends of a life time; for they are friendly spirits who haunt my haunted room.

In one corner, right next to the writings of greatest antiquity, (the Holy Scriptures of course), old Aesop stands, with his Fable of the Old Man and his Sons, in which the old man with his bundle of sticks makes it plain to the boys that "In Union there is Strength." And Bunyan is there, with his Christian and his Faithful, his Muckraker and the Land of Beulah. and the historians are there; Old Rollin, with Egypt and Babylon, and Gibbon with Rome, and Guizot with France, and D'Aubigny with the Reformation, and Carlyle with Oliver Cromwell, and Prescott with Ferdinand and Isabella and Irving with Columbus, and Macauley with England.

And another stack of books proclaims the presence of George Bancroft with Florida and the Carribean with Virginia and the Cavaliers with New England, and the Puritans, with Lexington and Concord and the Midnight Ride of Paul Revere; and Weems is here with his Washington, and here are the Life and Works of John Adams and Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, and the "American Congress" by Thomas H. Benton, and by James G. Blaine, and "The American Statesmen," Patrick Henry and John Marshall and Andrew Jackson, and all that great tribe, their doughty deeds told by Von Holst and Lothrop and Schurz and Roosevelt, and here are "The American Conflict" by Horace Greeley and "The Civil War" by Lossing, and the Memoirs of Sherman and Sheridan, and the Letters of Grant and Lee, and "Women's Work in the Civil War," and the "Patriotism of Illinois." Oh, what a glorious roll!

But I love, I think, above all others about a hundred volumes—for my library is pitifully incomplete—referring only to Illinois, and its men and women. I turn most often, and always have

turned most often, to the shelves given over to Illinois. I am quite sure that I have turned thereto not only most often but most affectionately. The Illinois by Ford; the History of Illinois by Ninian W. Edwards, son of Ninian Edwards; Edward Coles by Washburne; Recollections by Chetlain; the Illinois State Sanitary Commission by John Williams and Allen C. Fuller; Illinois by John Moses and by Grace Humphrey, and Lincoln—The Pioneer Boy, by Thayer; Lincoln, Lawyer, by Chief Justice Orrin N. Carter. Lincoln, the Christian, by Johnson; The True Abraham Lincoln, by William Eleroy Curtis; Lincoln and Slavery, by Arnold; Lincoln Master of Men by Rothschild; The Illini by Clark E. Carr, and Stephen A. Douglas by Clark E. Carr; Lincoln by Raymond, Lincoln by everybody. And "*Abraham Lincoln*" by Nicolay and Hay. And also the wonderful addresses at the annual banquets of the Lincoln Centennial Association, through which Judge Otis Humphrey has done more than any other man of recent years to revive the memory of Lincoln—Oh, the days and hours I have spent with these. And I want to mention especially the personal recollections of John M. Palmer, Major General, Governor and Senator.

To cap and crown the collection of Illinois literature (indispensable to anything like a satisfactory understanding of Illinois history and achievements, and Illinois ambitions and ideals) what a wonderful thing is that series of books by Buck and Sparks, and Alvord and Greene, and Thompson and Scott, and James and Carter and Pease, called "*The Illinois Historical Collections.*" And scarcely less wonderful are the things entitled, "*Publications of the Historical Library of Illinois*" and "*Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,*" for which we are indebted to the brilliant daughter of General, Governor and Senator John M. Palmer—Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

By these fascinating and most alluring pages, concerning the fathers of our fathers, with which we become absolutely infatuated, when we pour over them—we are bound by links that no human hand can sever to the men and women of 1818 and 1861. I refer to them because from them we learn the thrilling history, and history of the brave deeds done by brave men, and the sweet lives

led by sweet women, who were the brave fathers and the sweet mothers of our fathers and mothers. From them we take increased devotion to the causes to which they gave the last full measure of devotion. And the history which embalms the story of Illinois, is a wealth and richness, a depth and wideness, of legend and of love, if the agony and ecstasy of sacrifice mean anything. It is unrivalled by any Saga of the Northland, any Odyssey of the Greeks, or any folk-song of the far-off and fabulous lands where desert sweep or mountain height has exalted the souls of mystics to conceptions of immortal gods and sons of men, so fantastic, as to partake of the shimmer and the glimmer of the poet's dream.

THE ILLINOIS WHICH OUR FATHERS HOPED WE WOULD HAVE TODAY

It follows, that you will understand me, (in this idea of mine, that in order to speak rightly of Illinois Today, I cannot ignore the fact that we are linked by binding ties to the past) when I speak to you of the Illinois which our fathers hoped we would have today.

I will not dwell upon the Illinois of yesterday, as I have said, because my subject debars me from doing that—whether it be the Illinois of 1818 or the Illinois of other days that are gone.

But I am not debarred from recalling or quoting the standard which our fathers set up for us, the ideal they cherished for us, the degree of perfection which they prayed and warred for, and in hope of which they died. I hold in my hand an "Address delivered at the Exhibition of the Junior Class of Illinois College at Jacksonville, on Wednesday, the 9th of April, 1834." I read four paragraphs of that address:

"But a short time since, and the spot on which we stand, was the lone and solitary desert where the untamed herd roamed unmolested, and nature, in undecorated simplicity, delighted in the undisturbed solitude. Here the chorus of the hunter and the whistle of the ploughman were unheard; here architecture had reared no monuments of ceaseless duration or blazing glory, no bright and towering edifices to eclipse contending nature of her

resplendent lustre. But now, how changed the scene. The persevering arm of civilization has gone into the 'Far West.' Here a literary institution has reared its towering edifices, not far away, over the undulating ridges of the wide extending plain stands a beautiful village, variegated with its lofty buildings, and busy groups; and all around, fields of waving green conspire to adorn and beautify the splendid scenery. Now the bellowing of the distant steamboat as she ploughs her way in mighty majesty along our far-famed Mississippi, our smooth, gentle and unruffled Illinois, tells us that *there is a spirit in this land which will not slumber* until every spot of these now solitary prairies shall bear the mark of cultivation, and every herb of grass indicate the presence of the farmer.

"A boundless field for future attainment is laid open before the western youth—a field for enterprise, for industry, for benevolence and for patriotism, with either of which he may connect his future destiny; or, in other words, a beautiful landscape is spread out before him, filled with all the enticements to honor and usefulness, which can charm and attract the attention of the youthful mind. Our territory is abundant in resources, intersected by large and noble rivers, possessing a soil unrivalled in fertility, having pre-eminent advantages in commerce and agriculture; or, in a word, it is a country amply fitted and suitably adapted to satisfy the wants, promote the comfort, and advance the interests of civilized men.

"But these great natural advantages and these anticipated Elisia of Glory will prove to be but phantoms if they are not under the direction of enterprising, intelligent and benevolent men.

"Are the rising generation prepared, as their fathers, in obedience to the general laws of nature, step off the stage of human action, to take this priceless inheritance into their hands, to roll onward the wheels of civil government, to corroborate the interests of their State, and to concentrate all their efforts to bear upon her glory? Are they prepared to guide the Ship of State if necessary, safely through the storms and tempests of civil commotion, over the boisterous waves of party malignity, to check the

prodigality and licentiousness of the press, to disconcert faction, to expose conspiracy, to demolish the bulwarks of vice and immorality, or to reprobate every other attempt to disturb the general quiet, or to impair our liberties? Or, (listen to this) if the countless legions of some foreign despot should invade our borders and overrun our land, could they, amid such a calamity, bear the Republic safely through to victory and to triumph?

"Shall not Illinois have her historians, who shall record the valor and achievement of her sons? Her poets, who shall sing the glory, grandeur and beauty of the West? Her orators whose magic voice would move and electrify the nation? We are led to inquire who knows but that there may be among them some Clay, before whose mighty genius the mists of delusion have fled with terrific haste, some Washington in whose breast the destinies of nations might be dormant, some Milton 'pregnant with celestial fire,' some Curran who when thrones were crumbling and dynasties forgotten, might 'stand the landmark of his country's genius,' a mental pyramid in the solitude of time, round whose summit eternity must play. We live in a State which must excite a spirit of restless unsatisfied perseverance, engender the liveliest emotions, and enkindle the most glorious anticipations. We behold the dawn of that day when an almost countless population will overspread our prairies. *Youth of Illinois*, do *you* wish that your posterity shall look back upon the present era with admiration, as the founders of that glory destined to encircle our beloved State? Do you wish to add another strong link to this grand confederation—to promote the cause of human liberty, and universal emancipation from the shackles of depotism, do you wish to see (through your undying example) the standard of Liberty planted upon every shore?

"Then act worthy of our high vocation."

These paragraphs were written and declaimed in 1834, only 16 years after our State was admitted to the Union, and they were written by an Illinois boy of 19.

And this Illinois boy was my father.

These words show what high hopes our fathers had of and for Illinois. Even as I read them I seem to hear the song of the

hammer on the anvil of Illinois industry, the song of the bell in the belfry of the Illinois church and school, and the clash of arms and roar of artillery in the days when Illinois went forth in its war-times.

You may call this sophomorical if you like. But when I first read it, it reminded me of the splendid story of how, when Elisha, the prophet, told the young man who longed for help to look up and lift his eyes, the young man saw that, "All the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire."

You have here the standard. And I am quite sure that words would fail me if I should attempt to undertake to improve upon this expression in any expression on my part of what Illinois must be and do in this now present day in order to be worthy. Every word of the school boy address could well be addressed today to the youth of Illinois. Here is the standard. Our fathers looked forward and they pointed forward. And Illinois is keeping the faith. The fathers having brawn asked us to add brain and bravery. The thing has been done. The educated State with knowledge and science has duly appeared in the fulness of time. Today it faces the test of all its brawn and all its brain and all its bravery.

My idea of what Illinois *ought* to be I get, I think, from my father and my mother.

My conceptions of the possibilities and opportunities of Illinois, I derive, I think, from my father and my mother. From them I get the realizing sense of the obligation today resting upon Illinois in view of the opportunity which has been devised to it, to us, as a precious privilege, as an invaluable inheritance, by the men and women of Illinois, who have passed this way before. Perhaps it will better express and convey my meaning if I say, I derive my conception of what Illinois ought to be—or at least a large part of that conception—from two scenes in the life of my father, in both of which my mother was an important actor or co-worker.

The time of one of these scenes is 1868, the year of the other is 1863. The one I witnessed with my own eyes, the other I saw through the eyes of my mother, as she told me the tale over the

pale face of my father, as he lay in his manly beauty the day before his burial.

The scene of 1868 brings up before me the Impeachment Trial (in the Senate at Washington), of the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson—a scene imprinted forever on my memory, because I saw it, a hundred times, myself, when a boy at the age of eight.

The other scene (of 1863) blazes before me, even as if it were yesterday, because in it my mother told me how my father in a great fervor and frenzy of feeling, depicted and enacted, before her, his own experience, of holding in his arms the dying “Boy in Blue” direct from the field of battle, while that boy with fast failing breath, faltered out his last message for the dear ones at home.

In the year 1868, my father wrote to my mother a pathetic letter, in which he said, calling her “Kate” (the name he always used) “The impeachment trial of the President, Andrew Johnson, is coming on before the Senate, and it will last a hundred days, in the awful climate of Washington; you know of my illness, and so do our enemies, and they will unhorse me, or any other loyal Senator, if they can, and they will keep me out of my seat in the Senate by any trick within their power; but if you will come on, and sit every day in the north Senate gallery, I know I can endure.” And then he added, “P. S., bring the boy;” and I was the boy.

Now, my mother was a fragile little body, who looked like a little flower, which would just fold up and blow away; but be not deceived; you never can tell about the American woman—and, as fast as steam and train could carry her, she struck for Washington. I have often thought of it. Andrew Johnson, did not know she was coming, the Senate didn’t know it, no one knew it except one anxious soul, one American Senator, stalwart and radical, but awaiting the arrival of that train, as if it bore the most valorous, reenforcement ever borne onward to field of battle—and she WAS a valorous reenforcement.

I will never forget the day when she came down the steep stairs of the north Senate gallery, and took her seat in the front

row; a Senator of the United States stood right up at his seat and took out his handkerchief and waved it at her and saluted her as royally as if she were an Empress of old taking her seat in the coliseum or other arena of Rome in her glory.

When the early and primitive Christians sought for a word with which to name their most sacred ordinance of religion, they took the Roman word "Sacramentum" because in all the world there was nothing so solemn, nothing so sacredly kept, as the oath taken by the Roman Soldier, and that oath was called "Sacramentum." And whenever I go to Washington, I go for a moment and sit in my mother's seat in the north Senate gallery, and I say to myself, "Sacramentum, Sacramentum; Holy Ground, Holy Ground," for there my mother sacrificed herself for her country, as surely as any soldier ever did on any other field of fire; for she was never well afterward, though she lived through forty years of suffering.

She would sometimes say to me, "Son, if you will look forward a little, I will show you a great Senator," and she would point out old Ben Wade of Ohio, or Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, or Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, or Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Why, I can see them yet; they had great big heads and great big bodies too; and they moved with conscious power; and they, in that far off day, gave me an idea of what an American statesman ought to be, which thank God, has never departed from me.

Well she is in another gallery tonight, possibly looking down at us, as I love to believe all those great patriots, those magnificent Americans, are looking down, these days, from heaven's ramparts. And I feel like saying, "If you will lean forward a little, mother, you will see that we are worthy (or at least straining every nerve to be worthy) of the sacrifices of the past."

Our fathers' fathers, and our mothers' mothers—we cannot ignore them today. My father was born in Kentucky. So was my mother—in Lexington, the hub of the famous blue grass region. The parents of both of them were born in Virginia. My father's father was born in Old Caroline County, Virginia, "In the forks of the Mattaponisah." In 1809 (108 years ago) he took his young

wife the sweet Milicent Yates and put her on the pillion behind him and rode, horseback, through the Cumberland Gap in Kentucky, when Kentucky was the dark and bloody ground, head erect, eye alight, soul aloft, fearing neither God, man or devil—well, fearing God—but not afraid of any mortal man that walked this old world of ours. Fearless, thank God; yea, *not* afraid. Yet; let us be frank about this. The pioneers were raised up for their time. They were the men for that time. Their efforts were prodigious, their journeyings were almost endless, their hardships and privations were terrible things for men and women and little children to face. They knew the rifle, the ax, and the saddle bag, they knew the cabin of logs without a floor. My father was born in such a cabin. But they did not prefer these things. They did not like them. There was no magic about these things, and no magic appeal. They got away from them, gladly, just as fast and as far as they could. George Washington loved beautiful Mount Vernon. He did not remain wedded to any log cabin.

Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson may have known the log cabin, but they were glad to discard it and to erect stately "Monticello" and "The Hermitage." Our fathers' fathers who lived outside Illinois and came into it—they did not plan or wish a state composed of rifle, ax and saddle bag, or cabin of logs. They had higher aspirations. They wished and planned to put aside ax work and promote head work. And so they sent their sons to college. And they did well. They builded better than they knew. For while it may be true, that the city bred man of today would have starved to death had he tried to make a living in the environment only of the rifle, ax, and saddle bags, it is also true that the ax man would perish today quickly if he had to face a modern army. Why, even the farmer farms by machinery today, and the wars of today are not to be won by frontiersmen or by pioneer weapons but by arithmetic, by trigonometry, by logarithms, by differential calculus, by artillery trajectories, and by the conquest of the air together with the navigation of the submarine depth. With his level head the man of 1818 knew this; and he taught his sons, our fathers, a reverence and deference for knowledge and science which caused our fathers (our immediate fathers)

to adopt a standard and a stature for us to come up to as much superior to the log cabin life as the large modern dwellings in your neighborhood, are superior to the log cabin in which my father was born in Kentucky.

PRESENT CONDITION IN ILLINOIS

Not many words are required (and you will be glad, I am sure)—not many words are required to describe Illinois today.

Today Illinois has a greatness in commerce, in industry, in finance; a greatness in agriculture, in mining, in manufacturing; a greatness in transportation; a greatness in education, in educational institutions and pursuits; a greatness in journalism, and law and medicine, and professional endeavor; and there is a greatness in the sciences and the arts and a world of effort by inventors; and in generosity and benevolence and philanthropy there is another greatness; and there is a greatness and glory in religion worthy of all praise; never before in history has there been so much of charity and good will, never so much of the milk of human kindness, and never so much of the love of God in the hearts of the people as at present, all over Illinois. All of these various greatness are and should be a source, to all of us, of heart-felt pride.

But the one overwhelming, overtowering, overpowering condition of Illinois today, the one thing, characteristic and permeative of Illinois today, as never before, is that Illinois is at war; terribly at war. Our hearts are in Camp Grant, in Camp Dodge, in Camp Pike, in Camp Logan and in Camp Zachary Taylor, and with our sons of Illinois in France, and on the ocean.

The kid has gone to the colors,
And we don't know what to say,
The boy that we loved and cuddled
Stands up for the flag today.

The kid not being a slacker,
Stood forth with patriot joy
To add his name to the roster,
And oh, God, we're proud of our boy.

We stand at the opening, the threshold of an appalling era of sacrifice, as grave as that when Abraham "Took the wood and put it on the altar and bound Isaac and put him on the altar on the wood." When God can say to America "Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing that thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me"—then and not till then, will our sacrifice cease. We must not murmur or complain. All human progress has been won only through human agony. A million men have died in America that Liberty might live. A million American women have agonized that American freedom might not die. Who are we that we should escape or be immune?

I believe that the hand of God, the Divine Hand, is in all this terrible trial of America and of Illinois; that for His own purpose He determined that the world, the whole world, should *not* be energized and spiritualized by the agony and ecstasy of the sacrifice of war, *with* America left out.

The veritable miracle at the Battle of the Marne, which one day saw two million men marching on Paris, so that a War Lord, with helmet of silver on his head and cape of velvet on his shoulders, might ride through and under the Arch of Napoleon, as conqueror of the world, and next day saw that whole two million in full retreat, rushing northward almost in panic—what are we to infer from that?

We know what the consequences would have been, if the War Lord had won. France would have been on her knees; England would have come to her knees; then the British Navy would have been exacted as an indemnity; then the German and French navies added, then westward to American shores. Then the weak American Navy would have been wiped out; then the coast cities would have been bombarded; then the foreign hosts would have landed; then the little American Army of 75,000 regulars and 225,000 National Guard would have been annihilated. Then Congress would have retired from Washington to Chicago, to Omaha to Denver; then a crowned king would have marched up Broadway in New York, and up Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington; and a humiliating peace would have resulted, and America would have had to pay an indemnity of one-half of all our possessions,

or face the muzzles of the firing squad. *And life would not have been worth living; and the daughters of America would have been the slaves of a conquering soldiery, drunken with victory.*

From all this we were saved, for some reason—because, so far as our finite vision can see, generals of distinction of ability, and of experience, made mistakes, unaccountable, I believe that tide of conquest was stopped as it was and *when* it was, in order that America, including Illinois, might *have its part* in the energizing and spiritualizing which comes with sacrifice.

If this is true, then Illinois today, faces the obligation and opportunity of all its existence; and it will be worthy of it, worthy of the history of glory which it enjoys, worthy of the high hopes our fathers cherished, and we can leave here tonight singing and believing:

Then conquer we must,
For our cause it is just
And this be our motto
In God is our trust.

Let us be not deceived; the Illinois of today has a hard task set before it, to equal the patriotism of the Illinois of the olden day.

Do you know what Illinois must do to equal their givings and offerings? Take the one item of men alone—

In the four years, 1861-2-3-4 Illinois gave 259,000 men, to the army and navy—a quarter of a million, plus nine thousand; the population of Illinois was then 1,700,000—about one and three quarters millions; so that one man was given for every sixth of the population.

On the same basis, Illinois, with its present population of between six and seven millions, must furnish one million men, before it can equal the offering of our fathers, to the army and the navy, in the glorious days, the great days the great and glorious days of Illinois.

Can it be done? God helping us, it can be done.

But, when victory shall have come and the American millions shall have come home, will no problem be left? When Kaiserism

shall be no more, what about Bolshevism? Kaiserism inspired and instigated anarchy in Russia, and it yet remains there, and will remain there, until by the aid of American bayonets disorder is ended and order is restored. Bolshevism is not better than Kaiserism. It has the same hellish origin. It is autocracy—brutal, cowardly, autocracy. It is brutal, bloody, tyranny. Its leaders in Russia have been murderers. If it gets over here, it will murder, burn and torture here, as in Russia. It paraded its red flags in the hands of a lot of fools in New York the other day. Thank God, its flags were torn to tatters by American soldiers and sailors who happened to see them. It will parade them in Illinois, in Chicago, aye in Springfield, some day, unless we show and prove now that we will not tolerate autocracy in any form, for one moment, whether it comes as Kaiserism or whether it comes as Bolshevism, whether it comes as tyranny or whether it comes as anarchy, whether it comes, attacking with poison gas, or whether it comes with the red flag and torch.

In this hour of crisis and of new danger and new trial, in this moment when artful, scheming, cruel, brutal, cold, calculating demagogues and agitators (are equipped), God knows how or whence, with money and plenty and some support from parlor anarchists in high degree and position), can we depend upon the men and women of America to aid and help utterly regardless of all its costs, the eternal right, to the end that we may not have driven out the Kaiser and yet be overcome by Kaiserism, after all?

But my fellow citizens, I appeal to you as Illinoisans, to serve the State as never before.

Fellow citizens, who would not be proud to serve Illinois? Illinois exceeds a majestic empire in size. Illinois exceeds a royal realm in resources. Illinois is the queen of all the prairie states, and richer and fairer than any monarch or potentate could possibly be. Yet it harbors no aristocracy, no oligarchy, no militarism, no imperialism—simply enlightened liberty. Illinois is a republic of itself. It has both prospects of renown and a history of glory.

Two hundred and fifty-nine thousand lusty and loyal men it sent forth fifty-five years ago, to do battle and to dare, and if need be, die, for Union and Liberty, for you and for me, for

posterity and the eternal right. To the State Penitentiary it in later days sent the violators of the sacred laws of suffrage, to the end that political rights might be preserved inviolate. To the sanctity of the suffrage, to the honesty of municipal government, the upbuilding of American nationality the mighty State stands pledged today.

Great in its domain; great in its citizenship; great in its intelligence; great in its liberty; great in its benevolence; great in its energy; great in all its capabilities; great in both its strength and its beauty—Illinois is worthy the devotion of any man, or any people; worthy of your undying affection, and of mine.

Ah, Illinois! It is my birthplace and my home, and the home of my mother, and my wife and my little ones, and I love it well. As I look into your earnest eyes, men of Illinois, I see that you, all of you, love it well too, and because we love it so well we want it guided wisely and well.

I have a serene and implicit faith, that we will be guided aright, because I believe that our guide has been God. Having been our guide, He will not forsake us now, not forsake Illinois today, not forsake us in the appalling future. I believe that this Nation, of ours, is divinely ordained; that the Almighty, Himself, just kept that curtain of water the Atlantic Ocean, right down, on the eastern side of this continent, until the prow of Columbus parted the waters of this Western Hemisphere, for the mighty purpose; and that that purpose was to establish, and maintain, yea, to establish, yea, to maintain, utterly regardless of what it cost, yea, utterly regardless of what it cost in men or in money, in treasure, in time, in terror, in tears or in blood, this mighty Republic, our mighty and model Republic, with cornerstones of Freedom, with foundations cemented by the shed blood of forefathers, in order that, in hours of peril to the suffering human race, this mighty and model Republic, your country and mine, might be not only the heir of ages and the child of the centuries, but the beacon light of Liberty and the last hope of humanity, as it undoubtedly, praise be to God, is today. And so believing, I rejoice that I can (as I do) further believe, that Illinois, which is, already, more than one-fifteenth in population, of this mighty last

hope of humanity, will grow and grow and grow, until it will be much more than one-tenth, over one-tenth in wealth and in courage, in resources and in high resolve—more than one-tenth of the American Republic, the stone that the continental builders rejected, the mightiest agency ever ordained by Providence, for the welfare of humanity since the Savior walked among the sons of men. HAIL, HAIL, ILLINOIS!

ILLINOIS AND THE WAR

WALLACE RICE

Illinois commands us, her loyal children,
Here to meet tonight in new consecration,
Crossing with her over the troubled threshold
Of a new era.

Jewel-bright her story, and proud her people
Gathered here recounting her past achievement;
While the blare of bugles and tramp of war-hosts
Call to new duties.

Born was she in warfare, and her forthcoming
Red with tales of battle along these prairies:
First of settlers here was the iron-handed
Henry de Tonty.

Joliet, LaSalle, Pere Marquette the pious,
Prophets and adventurers, brought the ensign
France sent westward floating above our rivers—
These our beginnings.

Britain's flag awhile on our ramparts fluttered;
Till Virginia came, and the Starry Banner
Rose in splendor never to be supplanted,
Emblem of freemen.

Illinois, through Clark and his fearless Long Knives,
Gave the Nation, first of her gifts, the empire
Of the broad Northwest, to preserve and cherish
Freedom for ever.

Soon upon the Flag was our Star of Statehood
Brightly placed, the better to hold the Union
One throughout the years. How we have repaid this,
History blazons.

First in Mexico, when at Buena Vista
Gallant Hardin perished, on to the City
Marching up with Scott, never once defeated
Illinois battles.

Rose the Great Revolt. Did our Douglas falter?
At the call two hundred and sixty thousand
Fighting men go forth. Ours their chosen leader,
Grant the undaunted.

Ours that Man of men, more than peer of princes,
Humble-hearted, yet honoring man and woman
More than any crown, the Emancipator
Abraham Lincoln.

Peace ensues, and here from our golden cornfields
And rich mines beneath are afforded treasure,
Wealth beyond our dreams, with the whirring work-shops
Adding new treasure.

Beauty, too, is ours; glowing arts and letters;
Science sound and deep; law to help the helpless;
While Religion builds templed shrines, high altars
Free as the sunlight.

Peace becomes our faith and our fond conviction.
On a sudden Europe, in flame enveloped,
Startles us from dreaming. We see in horror
Arson and murder.

Busy at our doors, as the desperate conflict
'Twixt a right divine held by sceptered despots
And a government for and by the people
Rocks land and ocean.

Vain our hope for peace; and our old flags beckon us:
France, who gave us being, and Greater Britain,
Tonty's home, fair Italy, Freedom's offspring,
Roll out their drumbeats.

And we rush to arms. Hear the trumpets blaring!

On our sacred soil see our brave young warriors,

Youth in blue or khaki, our sons and brothers,

Haste to the Colors!

Illinois renews now the fine old pledges

Given at her birth and redeemed so proudly;

Illinois once more gives with solemn gladness

Her best and noblest.

How can she do less, she who ended slavery

In its age-old form, now that new enslavement

Threatens at her gates? Hear our fathers cheering,

Liberty! Union!

Liberty for all, great or little peoples—

This our mighty task, this our sacred duty;

Never peace until mankind in union

Dominates bloodshed.

God of Liberty, Illinois is praying,

Not for glory or gratified ambition,

But for generous truce with no thought of conquest,

War for War's deathblow.

We who gave America in her peril

Instruments for victory, Grant and Lincoln,

Under God shall force new emancipation,

Freeing Man's spirit.

The above poem was read by the author at the banquet, given at the Leland Hotel in Springfield, Monday evening, December 3, in honor of the ninety-ninth anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the Union and the beginning of the Centennial year. Mr. Rice is a Chicago poet of wide reputation, and was the official pageant writer and lecturer for the Illinois Centennial Commission, which, in conjunction with the Illinois Historical Society, gave the banquet. The metre of the poem is sapphic, the same used by Horace in his "Integer Vitae."

THE LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY OBSERVANCE

Two mass meetings were held at the State Arsenal in Springfield on Lincoln's birthday, February 12, under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission, and the Lincoln Centennial Association.

In the afternoon a chorus of twelve hundred Springfield school children sang patriotic songs, and addresses were delivered by Hugh S. Magill, Jr., Director of the Centennial Celebration, and Mr. Addison G. Proctor, of St. Joseph, Michigan, who was a delegate from Kansas at the Wigwam convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chairman of the Centennial Commission, presided.

In the evening another great mass meeting was addressed by Justice William Renwick Riddell, of the Supreme Court of Ontario, Canada, and the Hon. Thomas Power O'Connor, the Irish Nationalist member of the English Parliament. Judge J Otis Humphrey, of the United States District Court, and Chairman of the Lincoln Centennial Association, presided.

Governor Frank O. Lowden issued a statement on February 9, in which he urged a greater observance of Lincoln Day than ever before. This statement helped materially to focus public attention upon the Lincoln Celebration throughout Illinois. The Proclamation of Governor Lowden, was as follows:

"Lincoln's spirit still walks the earth. His life remains the greatest resource to the forces fighting for freedom and righteousness throughout the world. When autocracy seems to win victories, it is Lincoln's unshaken faith in the worth of the common man which impels us to go on at any cost. When some fear that the monstrous doctrine of the mailed autocrats—that might makes right—may again rule the earth, our resolution is renewed by these words of Lincoln: 'Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty.'

"When our allies have felt the need to refresh their courage they have turned to Lincoln's words. More and more do the lovers of liberty everywhere make pilgrimage to Lincoln's tomb. It was an impressive moment when Joffre, who saved civilization at the Battle of the Marne, with reverent hand and tear-dimmed eye laid a wreath above his dust. Who shall doubt that the old hero felt at that moment a new resolve to 'carry on'!

"We may become war-weary before peace shall come. If we do, Lincoln will revive our will. To adopt his words to the present crisis: 'Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that the mighty scourge of war will speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue "until the privileges of emperors and kings shall finally give way to the rights of man; until the sword and cannon shall become the servants, not the masters, of the state; until nations everywhere shall confess their fealty to the moral law; until the God of Justice and Righteousness shall rule the world," as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

"As the weeks shall come and go, in ever increasing numbers, the stars upon our service flags will turn from blue to gold. The temptress will whisper peace to us, as she whispered it to Lincoln, when no peace is possible—but only a truce. Let us in that hour, with Lincoln, 'highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'

"The cause of democracy is the cause of humanity. It concerns itself with the welfare of the average man. Lincoln was its finest product. In life, he was its noblest champion. In death, he became its saint. His tomb is now its shrine. His country's cause, for which he lived and died, has now become the cause of all the world. It is more than half a century since his countrymen, with reverent hands, bore him to his grave. And still his pitiless logic for the right, his serene faith in God and man, are the surest weapons with which democracy, humanity and righteousness now fight their ancient foe. His birthday draws near.

It will nerve the soldier's arm, it will strengthen the statesman's resolution, it will grip humanity's great heart, if, upon that day, the friends of man everywhere shall pause long enough to recall his life and death, and resolve that Abraham Lincoln, too, shall not have lived and 'died in vain'."

Previous to Lincoln Day, the Centennial Commission sent out circular letters and notices to the press, urging the observance throughout the State. This request was very generally complied with by local Centennial organizations.

AFTERNOON PROGRAM AT 2:30

DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT

Chairman Illinois Centennial Commission Presiding

Invocation.....Rev. Euclid B. Rogers

Music.....By Chorus and High School Orchestra

Address—The Capital City's Part in the Illinois Centennial

Celebration.....By Hon. Hugh S. Magill, Jr.

Director Illinois Centennial Celebration

Music.....By Chorus and High School Orchestra

Address—The Nomination of Abraham Lincoln.....

.....By Addison G. Proctor, St. Joseph, Mich.

Delegate to Republican National Convention of 1860

Music.....By Chorus of 1200 Pupils of Springfield Schools and

High School Orchestra

EVENING PROGRAM AT 7:30

HON. J OTIS HUMPHREY

President of Lincoln Centennial Association Presiding

Invocation.....Rev. Lester Leake Riley

Music.....Watch Factory Band

Address..By the Honorable Mr. Justice William Renwick Riddell

Of the Supreme Court of Ontario

Music.....Watch Factory Band

Address.....By the Honorable T. P. O'Connor

Member of Parliament

Music.....Watch Factory Band

THE CAPITAL CITY'S PART IN THE CENTENNIAL
CELEBRATION

HUGH S. MAGILL, JR.

Director Illinois Centennial Celebration

We have assembled here today to celebrate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. Once he belonged to Illinois, and in a more intimate sense to Springfield, the city he loved to call his home. Today, though our city contains his dust, his spirit no city, no state, no nation can contain. He belongs to the liberty loving of every land. Where statesmen meet to uphold the cause of humanity against the ruthless aggressions of despotic power, his great spirit inspires and guides their councils. Where today the brave sons of America and France and Britain and Italy stand shoulder to shoulder in the trenches of Europe to battle back the onslaughts of the merciless Huns, there the spirit of Lincoln nerves these soldiers of liberty to offer, "the last full measure of devotion," "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Fifty-seven years ago yesterday, Illinois gave Lincoln to our nation. When he assumed the duties of the presidency, the country was rent with fierce dissension. His one great passion was to save the Union, for he knew it was the world's last hope of free government. If this American Republic went down in fraternal strife, the despots of earth would laugh in derision at the final failure of democracy. This nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," must be preserved for the welfare of our own people, and as an inspiration and example to all the world.

Through four long years of sacrifice and suffering he "carried on," until freedom triumphed, and democracy was saved. It is in support of the same principles of free government that millions today are dedicating their lives and all that they have. We would be untrue to him, and unworthy of the liberty for which he gave his life if we faltered in this hour of trial. Who should dare put a price on these ideals and principles? For the sake of ourselves

and the people of all nations, and of generations yet to be, these principles must be maintained, though it cost billions of our treasure and millions of our best and bravest men.

When, war-weary, we would consider for a moment a compromise peace, let us remember that Lincoln was tempted in like manner. During the dark days near the close of the Civil War, just before the dawn of victory, men who were reputed as statesmen went to Mr. Lincoln and urged him to offer a compromise in order to end the war. He replied, "We accepted this war for a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it will not end until that time!" This should be the sentiment of every staunch patriot today. The last vestige of that military autocracy, which deliberately brought on this terrible war, must be put down forever, that it may never again destroy the peace of the world.

Abraham Lincoln, above any mortal man, has given to the world its finest example of lofty spirit and purpose in the hour of severest trial. The military autocracies of Europe have poured out on a suffering, bleeding world all the vials of wrath, and hatred, and cruelty. But in this dark hour it will sweeten our souls to contemplate his words uttered near the close of four years of awful war: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, for his widow and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

And so with him, "Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

THE NOMINATION OF LINCOLN

ADDISON G. PROCTOR

*Youngest delegate to the Convention of 1860 that
nominated Lincoln*

The year 1860 introduced into our national life Abraham Lincoln, one of the most remarkable and certainly the most in-

teresting characters that has graced our history since the days of Washington.

Now this man, born to poverty and obscurity, whose life from its earliest days to middle age was one continued struggle for a bare existence,—who came to the State of Illinois at the age of 21 a raw backwoodsman, clothed in the homespun that he had earned by the splitting of rails,—how this man could have so impressed himself on the people of this great State, and of this Nation, as to become the chosen and accepted leader of a great National party at the most critical time in the affairs of this country, must always remain one of the interesting chapters of our political history.

There met that year in the City of Chicago, in the month of May, a convention composed of 466 delegates from the Northern States and the Border States of the South. They were men of strong convictions, who had met for a very decided purpose. Slavery, as a political power, had been growing more and more aggressive and dictatorial. It had trampled upon all of the compromises, had outraged the moral sensibilities of the North by its enforcement of its fugitive slave law, and now under cover of a recent Supreme Court decision it was attempting to force its way into the free territories of the Northwest, and so the temper of that convention was that of exasperation.

To the West, stretching from the valley of the Missouri River to the far off Pacific Ocean, lay one great undeveloped empire, promising, as we all realized, tremendous possibilities. To that great empire of the West, this Convention invited the people of the world to come and help in its development and to share in its prosperity, and it pledged the faith of that great party which it represented to the dedicating for all time of this great empire to the upbuilding and maintaining of free homes for free men, and so like an intrepid gladiator this convention strode into the National arena, threw its gauntlet of defiance into the face of slavery, and proclaimed—thus far may thou go and no farther.

This determination of the convention, unanimously adopted and made a part of the platform on which they stood, the next

and most vital question was—to whom, in view of this emergency we are creating, can we dare to entrust the leadership? This was the question that gave us pause.

There had come to that convention, largely from the East, a well organized body of delegates demanding the nomination for the Presidency of Senator William H. Seward of New York. Mr. Seward had been prominent in National affairs for many years. As governor of the great state of New York, and as United States Senator, he had attracted unusual attention by his ability and clear statesmanship. He was by all odds the most prominent man of his party at that time.

He was represented in that delegation by many of the most noted political manipulators of his party under the leadership of Thurlow Weed, the most adroit politician of his day. Seward had come to that convention backed by this great element, full of confidence, lacking less than sixty votes of enough to control that entire convention, pledged to him on that first ballot. The advent spectacular event of the pre-convention days.

Outside this great movement for Seward all seemed confusion and disintegration.

Vermont was there asking for the nomination of her able and popular Senator Jacob Collimer, who had filled many places of honor, including a cabinet membership and supreme judgeship and senator.

New Jersey was there asking for the nomination of her Judge and Senator, William L. Dayton, who had stood with Fremont four years before and gone down to defeat on a ticket that many suggested "had the head where the tail ought to be."

Pennsylvania was there asking for the nomination of her able, aggressive Senator Simon Cameron with the whole Pennsylvania delegation at his call.

Ohio was there urging the nomination of her splendid specimen of Senator and Statesman, Salmon P. Chase, afterward our chief justice of the Supreme Court.

Missouri, with a splendid delegation made up of a new element that everyone wanted to encourage, was there asking for the naming of her eminent Jurist, Judge Edward Bates.

And Illinois was there with a united and very active delegation asking for the nomination of a man—who was neither governor, judge nor senator, just a plain citizen—*Abraham Lincoln*.

And this was the condition confronting us as we faced the responsibility of that nomination for leadership.

We had come to that Convention from far away Kansas from “out on the border.” We had been making a very determined fight against the aggressions of the slave power, a conflict that had attracted the attention of the entire country and had been of such value to the party that they, through their National Committee, had invited us to a full participation in the councils of the Convention. For this reason the members of our little delegation of six were the recipients of many marked attentions.

The morning of our arrival we were invited to an interview with Thurlow Weed at his parlor at the Richmond House.

We had a touch of trepidation as we contemplated being ushered into the presence of this noted political Mogul, but we braced up our courage and went. He met us at the door of his parlor. We were introduced as we passed in by our chairman and seated about his big round table in the centre of the parlor.

Mr. Weed was most gracious in his manner, and dispelled all terror from the start.

He stood by the table while we were seated about him and addressed each one of us personally, calling each of us by name, which appealed to us as something remarkable, seeing that our introduction was so informal. That ability was probably one of the secrets of his wonderful influence, the ability to associate the name and the face, an adroit quality, essential to the successful politician. He was an attractive man and very interesting. After complimenting us on the good work accomplished out on the border and thanking us most graciously for the service rendered to the country and to the party, he turned to the question of the impending nomination.

He said: “Four years ago we went to Philadelphia to name our candidate and we made one of the most inexcusable blunders any political party has ever made in this country. We nominated a man who had no qualification for the position of Chief Magis-

trate of this Republic." "Why," he said, "that boy Fremont had not one single quality to commend him for the Presidency. The country realized this and we were defeated as we probably deserved to be. We have that lesson of defeat before us today." He went on to say: "We are facing a crisis; there are troublous times ahead of us. We all recognize that. What this country will demand as its Chief Executive for the next four years is a man of the highest order of executive ability, a man of real statesman-like qualities, well known to the country, and of large experience in national affairs. No other type of man ought to be considered at this time. We think we have in Mr. Seward just the qualities the country will need. He is known by us all as a statesman. As governor of New York he has shown splendid executive ability. As senator he has shown himself to be a statesman and a political philosopher. He is peculiarly equipped in a knowledge of our foreign relations, and will make a candidate to whom our people can look with a feeling of security. We expect to nominate him on the first ballot, and to go before the country full of courage and confidence." He thanked us for the call and gave each of us a friendly handshake at parting.

As he stood at the table, so gracious, so genial, with all our previous estimate of him dispelled, I was reminded of Byron's picture of his "Corsair" as "The mildest mannered man that ever scuttled ship or cut a throat," politically, of course.

We had hardly gotten back to our rooms at the Briggs' House when in came Horace Greeley dressed in his light drab suit with soft felt hat thrown carelessly on our table; with his clean red and white complexion, blue eyes and flaxen hair, he looked, as he stood there, for all the world like a well-to-do dairy farmer fresh from his clover field. He was certainly an interesting figure, and he seemed to find a place in our hearts at a bound. As a journalist he was full of compliments for the good news we had furnished to his Tribune and we were all drawn to him by his irresistible smile.

"I suppose they are telling you," said Greeley in a drawly tone, "that Seward is the 'be all' and the 'end all' of our existence as a party; our great statesman, our profound philosopher,

our pillar of cloud by day, our pillar of fire by night,—but I want to tell you, boys, that in spite of all this you couldn't elect Seward if you could nominate him. You must remember as things stand today we are a sectional party. We have no strength outside the North, practically we must have the entire North with us if we hope to win."

"Now there are states of the North that cannot be induced to support Seward, and without these states we cannot secure electoral votes enough to elect. So to name Seward is to invite defeat. He cannot carry New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana or Iowa, and I will bring to you representative men from each of these states who will confirm what I say." And sure enough he did; bringing to us Governor Andy Curtin of Pennsylvania, Governor Henry S. Lane of Indiana, Governor Kirkwood of Iowa, each of whom confirmed what Greeley had said and gave reasons for the belief.

Governor Curtin was particularly emphatic. He said: "I am the Republican candidate for governor. At the last national election Mr. Buchanan carried Pennsylvania by 50,000 majority. I expect to be elected on the Republican ticket by as large a majority as Mr. Buchanan had on the Democratic ticket, making a change of 100,000 votes; but I can only do this if you give me a man as presidential candidate acceptable to my people. I could not win with Mr. Seward as our candidate." He was a bright looking, enthusiastic young fellow and had every indication of making what he later proved to be, one of the most valuable of our war governors. Governor Lane and Governor Kirkwood both gave the same evidence touching Indiana and Iowa. It was the work of Horace Greeley to satisfy the Convention that the nomination of Seward would mean defeat and he certainly did effective work. He was the most untiring of workers. I doubt if Horace Greeley slept three consecutive hours during the entire session of that Convention.

We had calls from strong men, all in a wide-awake determination to meet the demands of the emergency; among them Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts with quite a group of New England delegates, and Carl Schurz of Wisconsin.

The afternoon of the day before we were likely to reach the balloting, Greeley came in to see us. He was very much discouraged. He could see no way to effect a consolidation of the elements opposed to Seward and he feared that Seward would win on the first ballot. He seemed tired and depressed. "Mr. Greeley," said one of our delegates, "who do you really prefer to see nominated, tell us?" Greeley hesitated a moment and sort of bracing up he said: "I think well of Edward Bates of Missouri as a safe nominee. He is a very able man and he comes from a section that we ought to have with us. He is not well known in the East, and for that reason I am hesitating in urging him strongly, but he would make a good candidate and an able President if elected, but I am hesitating."

"Mr. Greeley," said one of our group, "what do you think of Abraham Lincoln as a candidate? Why not urge him?" "Lincoln," said Mr. Greeley, speaking very slowly as if weighing each word, "is a very adroit politician. He has a host of friends out here in Illinois who seem to see something in him that the rest of us haven't seen yet. He has a very interesting history, that would make good campaign literature; but the trouble with Lincoln is that he has had no experience in national affairs, and facing a crisis as we all believe, I doubt if such a nomination would be acceptable. It is too risky an undertaking." And that was the judgment of Horace Greeley, the leader of the opposition, only a few hours before we should reach the actual balloting.

Soon after Greeley had gone we received a message on a card saying: "A company of Unionists from the Border States would like to meet you at your rooms." They were of that sharp eyed, broad jawed Scotch Irish type; the typical mountaineers of the South—intense and volcanic, standing for a something and standing resolutely. We realized instantly that the intense moment had come. We hurriedly arranged our room to seat as many as we could, the others stood against the four walls, filling the room so that we felt that we were in close touch with some full charged electric batteries.

These men of the southern border had chosen as their spokesman Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky. As Clay stepped forward and

stood at the head of our table at which we were all seated, there was a deep intense silence for a moment. As he stood posed before us he was the ideal Kentucky Colonel with all the mannerisms of that element so well pictured in our literature. A fascinating man, handsome to look upon, faultlessly dressed, keen, bright and emotional. We could not keep our eyes off as he stood like a waiting orator charged with a volcanic mission. As he stepped closer to the table, leaning forward with a sort of confidential gesture, speaking right to our very faces, he said: "Gentlemen, we are on the brink of a great Civil War." He paused as if to note the effect. He seemed to have caught a look of incredulity creeping over our faces that he chose to interpret in his own way. Straightening himself, looking every inch the orator, he said: "You undoubtedly have heard that remark before, but I want you to know that that fact will soon be flashed to you in a way you will more readily comprehend. Gentlemen, we are from the South, and we want you to know that the South is preparing for war. If the man that you will nominate at this Convention should be elected on the platform you have already adopted the South will attempt the destruction of this Union. On your Southern border stretching from the east coast of Maryland to the Ozarks of Missouri there stands today a body of resolute men (of whom these are the representatives) who are determined that this Union shall not be dissolved except at the end of a terrible struggle in resistance.

It makes a wonderful difference who you name for this leadership at this time; a wonderful difference to you but a vital difference to us. Our homes and all we possess are in peril. We realize just what is before us. You must give us a leader at this time who will inspire our confidence and our courage. We must have such a leader or we are lost. We have such a man—a man whom we will follow to the end. We want your help and," leaning forward, in a half suppressed whisper, he said: "We want you to name Abraham Lincoln. He was born among us and we believe he understands us.

"You give us Lincoln and we will push back your battle lines from the Ohio (right at your doors) back across the Tennessee into the regions where it belongs. You give us Lincoln and we

will join this Union strength full of enthusiasm with your Union Army and drive secession to its lair. Do this for us and let us go home and prepare for the conflict."

Here was a new issue just at a psychological moment when everyone realized that something unusual had to happen. Up to this time it had been, "How shall we keep slavery out of the Territories?" Now it was the question, "How shall we make sure to preserve this Union?" On this new line of formation the army was drawn up for its impending battle.

This impassioned appeal of Clay, first given to us reached the many hesitating delegates and aroused a new vitalization all along the line.

Probably the more conservative presentation of the issue as made by Governor Lane of Indiana did much to supplement the more volcanic work of Clay. Lane said to us: "I am Governor of Indiana. I know my people well. In the South half of my state a good proportion of my people have come from the slave states of the South. They were poor people forced to work for a living and they did not want to bring up their families in competition with slave labor, so they moved to Indiana to get away from that influence. They will not tolerate slavery in Indiana or in our free territories but they will not oppose it where it is if it will only stay there. These people want a man of the Lincoln type as their President. They are afraid Seward would be influenced by that abolition element of the East and make war on slavery where it is. This they do not want, so they believe Lincoln, understanding this as one of their kind, would be acceptable and would get the support of this entire element. If at any time the South should undertake in the interest of slavery to destroy this Union we can depend on every one of this class to shoulder his musket and go to the front in defense of a united nation even at the cost of slavery itself."

This new issue fostered by the strong Illinois delegation under the adroit leadership of David Davis, pressed by the impetuous oratory of Clay and strengthened by the sincere and convincing arguments of Governor Lane of Indiana was the real prevailing influence that brought cohesion out of disintegration and centered the

full strength of the opposition on the one man. It was an adroit piece of work as effective as it was adroit.

As the spectre of Civil War loomed before us becoming more and more convincing and menacing, we came to realize the need of conserving that element. It grew on us that this element might be a controlling factor in the great struggle before us. It might be decisive and the thought gave us deep concern.

Later, when the conflict was upon us and we saw 200,000 of these fighting men from our slave states of the border enlisted in our Union Army we more fully realized the vital influence and superb wisdom of that final decision.

But the battle was not over. Strong appeals were being made by both elements. The Seward forces pressed the great fact of known ability, of great experience, of large acquaintance, its ability to control an element to finance a hard campaign; an element that might help to overcome any factional opposition in the doubtful states.

The opposition delegates centered around their man were pleading for a more complete recognition of the West as the coming factor in the growth and strengthening of the party, and while conceding the value of the ability that comes from experience, claimed for their man an abundance of common sense on which they could appeal to the people with safety. This, with the great fact of the demands of that border element for consideration that it was not safe to ignore gave strength to the appeal of the opposition.

The issue was sharp, keen and decisive. The call to the battle of the ballot brought us face to face with the demand for a duty we could not shirk or would not if we could. We felt the full weight of the responsibility. A responsibility that by our act might involve the very existence of the Republic. We knew that our man, whoever he might be, must be depended on to carry the Nation through the most critical experience of its history. The coming events were casting their dread shadows before us. It was an ordeal. All I can say is—we simply put our trust in God and He who makes no mistakes gave us *Abraham Lincoln*."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario

At first sight there might seem an incongruity in a Canadian addressing this gathering, met to honor the memory of a President of the United States. But that would be a narrow view; the first words spoken after the martyr President's death are as true now as when on that fateful April morn fifty-three years ago they were uttered by Stanton, "He belongs to the Ages."

The Great President who led his people amid terrible difficulties, cheerful in the face of apparently irreparable disaster, calmly saying before truculent foes as before doubting friend "Whatever shall appear to be God's will I will do," the President who in the very hour of victory achieved was stricken down by the hand of the assassin, has become the treasured possession of the world; and my Canada claims her share in him.

A lad of thirteen years when he died I well remember the horror and detestation with which the deed of blood was regarded by Canadians, for we had learned to look upon him as our own and we venerated him less only than our beloved Queen Victoria.

Canadian to the last drop of my blood, British to my finger tips, I too was born on this our Continent of North America, have from infancy breathed her free air, drunk in almost with mother's milk the splendid principles of democracy which are her glory and her pride—in common with my brother Canadians, in all things I am "sprung of earth's first blood," in the highest and best sense I am American.

And I cannot but feel that your invitation to me to speak to you shows that you agree with me in the thought which caused me to accept your invitation that notwithstanding our difference of allegiance, our status in international law of alien and foreigner, notwithstanding all outward appearance of separation, there is between American and Canadian an essential and fundamental unity, for we be brethren, nay in all that is worth while, American and Canadian are one.

The great bond, the eternal principle, which makes us one is democracy; and Abraham Lincoln is the finest type and the greatest example of democracy the world has ever seen.

What do we mean by democracy? Not a form of government the republics of ancient and medieval times, many republics, so-called, of modern times are as far from democracy as the nadir from the zenith. Monarchies, too, are different ranging from absolute monarchy where the arrogant monarch can say "There is but one will in my country and it is mine" to the monarchy under which it is my pride to live in which the King is content to reign leaving it to his people to whom it belongs, to rule.

A republic in form may be an oligarchy or a tyranny in fact; a monarchy in form may be in reality a true democracy.

Every people has the government it deserves, every free people the government it desires; and that free people which has chosen that there shall be government of the people by the people for the people, is a democracy.

Yet he who adopts that principle simply because it recommends itself to his fellow citizens, or simply as a matter of policy, is not a true democrat; the true democrat must love the people, the common people.

Washington, *praeclarum nomen*, loved the common people, but he was not of them, one would almost say he was an English gentleman; he would not have a commission given to any but gentlemen; Lincoln was of the common people himself, he knew them and loved them as his own, not as a superior and from above but as one of themselves and on a level.

And this was the cause of utter bewilderment, honest perplexity, to many in the East, to no few in the West, who could not understand that high station was not inconsistent with simplicity of manner; they thought the joke, the amusing story, undignified, unworthy of the occupant of the highest office in the Union.

Had this been mere frivolity, such strictures would have been pardonable, but the light manner covered deep feeling, the joke had its immediate practical application, and the story was often

full of significance, like the parables of the Gospel, in which the Master taught profound moral truths in the guise of tales almost child-like in their simplicity.

This very want of affectation was symptomatic of the deep regard he felt for his fellow men and of his reverence for the people at large, democratic in his views of government, he was democratic in his manner toward others.

Wholly believing in the power of public opinion, with a perfect respect for the popular will, he did not seek applause or to amuse the people, except with the end of convincing them. Was not this the real reason why he relied so much upon "the stump," upon the open oral debate, when face to face the champions of rival policies might give a reason for the faith that was in them? Loving the people as he did, his greatest ambition was to be esteemed by rendering himself worthy of that esteem.

He was not unconscious of the tremendous importance of the issues involved, for coming as he did from a small frontier town, lacking what the world calls education, with little grace of diction and none of manner, he knew that his seven meetings with Douglas were the successive acts of a drama enacted in the face of the Nation and to no small extent in the face of the world. But during his whole life, even when he had become the people's attorney by being placed in the Presidential chair he was not self-willed, he sought the advice and counsel of others, he listened to all the myriad counsellors bidden or otherwise, ever trusting that those who should know would help him in his perplexities.

From early life he pondered over and struggled with every proposition till he understood it and mastered it; he read every book he could to help him to understand, and in the end he made up his own mind as to the right. Public opinion more than once was against him, more than once would have destroyed his plan, but with all his respect for public opinion he recognized his own responsibility before God, and man, and made—not adopted—a decision.

That marks the distinction between the democrat and the demagogue.

So at all times he repudiated any arbitrary personal prerogative; as he was not a demagogue he would not be an autocrat—no royalty could be smelt on his train.

At all times and under all circumstances he felt the majesty of law. It may be that Seward lost the nomination in 1860 because he had boldly asserted that there is a higher law than the Constitution; but that assuredly was not the reason for Lincoln's devotion to it. He did not imagine that the Constitution was perfect, but he revered it because it was a contract, and his conception of right did not allow him to look upon a contract as a scrap of paper.

This reverence for compact explains his attitude towards slavery.

Convinced that where the white man governs himself that is self-government but when he governs himself and also governs another that is more than self-government, that is despotism—convinced that slavery is a violation of eternal right and that that black foul lie can never be concentrated into God's hallowed truth; wishing that all men everywhere could be free, nay convinced that the Republic could not endure half slave and half free, he nevertheless fought the radical abolitionists as he fought those favouring the extension of slavery, while he swore that the Constitution should not shelter a slave holder, he would not permit it to shelter the slave stealer; he declared in his first inaugural address that he did not intend to interfere with slavery; even in the midst of war he repudiated the proclamation of Fremont, and at length he freed the slave only as a war measure. *Inter arma silent leges.*

Devoted to principle, he fought all his battles on principle; and while the most kindly and placable of men, he gave way no jot on matters of principle, he made no compromise with wrongdoing. The attempts at compromise with the seceding states, which we now know were foolish, he would have nothing to do with—he stood firm—Blair, Dawson, Greeley, who not? Men of consequence in their day but now as stars lost before the sun coquetted with rebellion. Lincoln listened, smiled and moved not. Rebellion he knew was not the work of a day; it was deep-seated

and required heroic measures; one could not fight it with elder-stalk squirts filled with rosewater; and he pressed on the war more earnestly than his professional soldiers and with no shadow of turning.

Lincoln had utter faith that Right makes Might, the true democratic doctrine, as opposed to the autocratic creed Might makes Right; and in that faith dared till the end to do his duty as he understood it. In that belief he dared to defy almost the whole of the Northern States by releasing the Southern envoys taken from the Trent contrary to international law. Firm in asserting right he recognized correlative duties, national as well as individual.

Lincoln had (it would seem) no well defined religious views in early life, but as soon as his thought became clear he recognized that there is a God who governs the world and that if God be with us we cannot fail in the end; he revered the justice and goodness of the Creator and humbly acknowledged that "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." He walked humbly knowing God as the Father of all and that very knowledge made him the better democrat. As it seems to me no man can be a true democrat who looks upon the world as without a Divine Author and Governor, the children of men but an accident here with a future of utter nothingness. The true democrat is he who knows that all men are like himself the children of God and therefore his brethren.

Does not the love of his fellow man shine out in every line of that sad but kindly face? Compare it with the scowling face of the Kaiser, the outstanding example of the autocrat—a face indicating arrogance, contempt, brutal disregard of the rights and feelings of others.

Your President has said that the present war is waged that the world may be safe for democracy.

Truly the world is now in the crucible; the furnace is seven times heated, the tension well-nigh intolerable; in the welter of blood, the cry of agony, the horror of death, the world's destiny is now being wrought out—the white hot metal must soon issue and take permanent form—all this is terrible but it was inevitable.

The autocrat and the democrat must needs meet in deadly conflict, and determine what the future of the world shall be—there is not room enough on earth for both.

This is no dynastic war to establish a sovereign or a reigning house, no religious conflict to render dominant, Catholic or Protestant, all but a very few peoples are wholly indifferent who is and who is not king; Protestant Prussia and Protestant England, Catholic Austria and Catholic France and Italy are not divided on religious lines, the Catholic American or Canadian stands shoulder to shoulder with his Protestant fellow-countryman with the same high resolve toward the same lofty ends. A people whose whole principle of government is autocratic, whose Kaiser is never photographed without a frown, his avowed models a people whose princes glory in military uniform, whose whole national atmosphere is enmity, hate and malevolence had been preparing for more than a generation for world dominion—not a world dominion where others would be treated with kindness and justice but where they would be ruled with a rod of iron having no rights which a German was bound to respect.

The rest of the world was strangely blind to its danger—the few who understood and spoke out, were treated as alarmists; one I know in Canada was laughed at and ridiculed, and more than one in England had the same experience. No one in a civilized country could believe that any people had reached the depth of infamy required to make them disregard all justice and right in order to aggrandize themselves and their ruling house. Yet so it was; and the world had a terrible awakening.

To the amazement of the civilized world, the solemn contract to respect and maintain the neutrality of Belgium was ruthlessly broken; the nation which prided itself on its blunt honesty became a perjured nation—true, at first the Chancellor expressed some kind of regret but soon the real spirit became all too manifest, the brutal aggressor was contemptible enough actually to attempt to justify the wrong by lying charges against crucified Belgium, enmity, hate, malevolence did their perfect work. France must necessarily resist for she was attacked—but the land across the

channel was safe, her navy ruled the narrow seas, and there was little chance of a successful invasion of her peaceful shores.

But she had made a bargain with Belgium, she wished well to Belgium, her heart went out to Belgium; and she threw her small army in the way of the aggressor.

The world did not know the Prussian, did not understand to what depth of brutality he could descend. Rules of decency were supposed still to hold even in war; but every vile thought that could be conceived by the vilest of men was carried into execution by the invading Hun—not sporadically as may happen in any army who see red and are in the agony of battle, but of design, with fixed purpose and by command of cool, collected officers. Murder, rape, arson by wholesale; women and children massacred or tortured with a torture worse than death—the Indian on this continent never gave such a spectacle, the world stood aghast and the German smiled a smile of self-satisfaction.

For long the conflict raged, Canadians fought and bled and died, many gallant young Americans joined our army, many joined the forces in France—but the United States was neutral.

Murder on land was followed by murder on the sea; American lives went out in the waters as Belgian lives went out on the plain, and yet America held her hand.

But when the promise solemnly made was contemptuously broken, when it became manifest that a wild beast, a tiger was abroad to which a promise was but something to be broken, when it became manifest that the Germany which was at war was the enemy of the human race, there was no longer hesitation.

War was declared by America against the enemy of America because the enemy of every nation governed by humane and moral principle, an enemy determined to set at naught all principles of right, of mercy, of justice to attain his object.

And America is united—the un-American, disloyal, hyphenated, I disregard; they are annoying but ridiculous and will vanish from sight once the United States seriously turns its attention to them. Some day when Uncle Sam is not too busy, he will take a bath and have his clothes baked; and we shall then hear no more of the vermin.

Is this not in a large measure the work of Abraham Lincoln? Abraham Lincoln thought that in giving freedom to the slave freedom was assured to the free; in waging war against slavery he said "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth." Britain grimly hanging on, France bleeding at every pore, Italy angrily and helplessly watching the Hun devastate her beautiful land look eagerly across the sea for the coming American host who are nobly to save, not, please God, meanly to lose the last best hope on earth—and he who set free the slave for a United America half a century ago made it possible for a United America to keep free and democratic the weary nations fighting for life against the autocrat.

It is a favorite thought of mine that the democrat and the autocrat are typified in the leading characters in that war for freedom and in this the man, the kindly Abraham Lincoln, the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen, the repellant, scowling Kaiser, the superman, one of the worst failures, the one fearing God and expressing ignorance of His will, the other patronizing the good old German God, congratulating Him on being a faithful ally and admitting Him almost to an equal partnership: Lincoln willing to hold McClellan's horses if he would but bring victory: William, arrogance personified, filled with overweening pride and insolence. Lincoln took as his models the Fathers of the Revolution and the good of all nations. The Kaiser, Alexander, Caesar, Theodoric II, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Alexander, who, after deluging the world with blood, wept because there were no other worlds to conquer, Caesar, whose cold blooded slaughter of the unfortunate Gauls horrifies even the school boys, who have to pick out their meaning with the aid of grammar and lexicon; Theodoric, who murdered his guest at the banquet and slew his great Chancellor because he dared to insist on the innocence of one whom Theodoric had determined to destroy. Frederick the Great, the perjured thief whom all the rhetoric of Thomas Carlyle cannot make into even a decent barbarian. Napoleon, who also sought world power and cared little how he got it, who sprinkled kings of his own family over Europe like grains of pepper out of a pepper pot, who cared no more for the

blood of the common man than for the life of a fly—such are the Kaiser's chosen models and he strives hard to better their example. If the President had a reverence for contract the Kaiser treats it as a scrap of paper; Lincoln gave up Mason and Slidell though he thereby angered the North because the rules of international law forbade their retention, the Kaiser boldly says there is no longer any international law and murders at sea as on land. The American instructed Francis Lieber—a Brandenburger be it said, one who never forgot that he was a Brandenburger, a Prussian, a German—to draw up rules for the conduct of his troops, a war code the best, the most humane known to its time and never improved upon; the Prussian! The cities, villages and plains of France and Flanders cry aloud his infamy, slaughtered non-combatant, outraged woman, starved child, ruined fane, poisoned well, the hideous story is all too well known, the world will not for generations forget the nightmare horror of Belgium, and so long as devotion to duty, sincere patriotism and unaffected piety and self-sacrifice command the admiration of the world, so long will be held in memory the name of that illustrious martyr to the German rules of war, Edith Cavell.

America is at war. Why? What is the real reason? It is the same as why Britain and her fairest daughter Canada are at war.

It is that the principles which were dear to Lincoln may prevail, that malevolence and overweening pride may have a fall, that the awful doctrine of the superman may be destroyed, that humanity may be vindicated, that the free shall remain free and the enslaved made free, that the people of every land shall say how and by whom they will be governed, that militarism may be shown to be not only a curse but also a failure; that it may clearly appear that contract breaking, lying, cruelty, do not pay.

Until that lesson is learned and thoroughly learned, the Prussian must remain without the pale of friendly converse with other nations unlike him; but the lesson when learned will be abundantly worth the pain experienced in learning it. Let but the arrogant superman lay aside his intolerable assumption of superiority, let him lay aside the brutality symbolized by the

scowl of his Kaiser, let him feel the moving spirit of democracy and benevolence toward others, let him in a word become human—and he may be met as an equal, esteemed and loved as a friend.

But until that time comes, we must fight on—if the Germans conquer then nothing else is worth while. All the silly attempts at a German peace must be received with the contempt which they deserve, the contempt with which Lincoln looked upon the efforts of many to compromise. He could not compromise with slavery, we cannot compromise with autocratic pretensions. We cannot lay down the sword till democracy and our civilization are safe. We will never accept the Kultur of Prussia.

We must expect reverses, bitter disappointments, loss of hard-earned ground, luke warm friends, incessant spying, incessant attempts to weaken our resolve—but these must not discourage us, the goal is clear ahead and there is no discharge in this war.

Thirty-five thousand Canadian lads, three thousand from my own city, of high courage and high promise lie under the sod, having given their all for us, having made the supreme sacrifice for civilization—a hundred thousand are crippled or wounded in the various hospitals—tens of thousands of Canadian mothers are broken-hearted—yet we must carry on.

So too, America must now take her share of the burden; hating war as she does she must fight as never before, for there never was a war like this before—every nerve strained, all her resources called out, man and woman and child each in his own way doing his very best, even so the road will be long and hard, and ever and anon the heart will be sick from hope deferred.

There cannot be any doubt of the final result—right must triumph and wrong be put down, but there can be no slackening of the efforts put forth for victory.

One Canadian soldier bard has sung with a *curiosa felicitas* not excelled, I think, since the times of Horace:

“In Flanders fields the poppies grow
Between the crosses row on row
That mark our place and in the sky
The larks still bravely singing fly

Scarce heard amidst the guns below—
We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe,
To you from failing hands we throw
The Torch—be yours to hold it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.”

(The poet, my friend, Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae himself now lies in Flanders fields, having made the last, the supreme sacrifice for God, for King and for the right.)

So your dead are calling you—few they are now but many they will be—your hearts will ache like ours but thank God your courage is as high, your faith as serene.

As Lincoln before the dead at Gettysburg, so you before your dead in France and we before ours in Mesopotamia and Syria, at Gallipoli and Saloniki and wherever on the western front the battle has been waged most fiercely—at St. Julien, Vimy Ridge, Paschendaele, Courcelette—must offer up the vow “It is * * * for us to be * * * dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we * * * highly resolve that they shall not have died in vain, that the world under God shall have a re-birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.” May we be strengthened to carry out the like resolve to his, “With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God has given us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace.”

For those who mourn the dead will come the consolation:

“To yearning hearts that pray in the night
For solace to ease them of their pain
For those who will ne’er return again
There shines in the darkness a radiant light—
A vision of service at God’s right hand
For the noble, chivalrous, youthful band
Who gave up their all for God and the Right.

“God will repay what we owe to Youth,
Youth that sprang at their Country’s call,
Youth ready to give up their all
For God and Country, Freedom and Truth,
For love of home and a scathless hearth,
For all that ennobles this transient earth
Imperilled, o’ershadowed by ‘woeful ruth’.”

For God and the right? Yes we fight not for Britain, for France, for America alone, not even for the democratic nations alone. Just as Lincoln when pouring his hosts against the South knew that he was fighting for the South and the future of the South, so we straining every muscle against Germany and her allies are fighting for them and their future. We do not arrogate the right to dictate to them how they are to be governed. Our arms may persuade them by the only argument they can fully understand that there is no need of loss of liberty to hold the Fatherland secure that democracy can wage a war and defend a land in the long run more effectually than autoocracy; but if they resist our persuasion, that is their affair—every nation has the government it deserves. But they must learn that people of our race are not to be bullied, that we are not subdued by threat or by brutality and Schrecklichkeit has no terrors over us. Having learned that democracy has the will and the power to live they may choose their own form of government; but they must keep “hands off” ours.

Free America, America who more than a century ago fought that her sons might be free, who fought half a century ago that the helpless black might be free, we welcome you to the great Armageddon wherein you will fight that the world may be free. Germany must share the benefits of your victory. Once she has seen the light, has learned the truth of the apostle's words "God has made all nations of men of one blood," when her people have learned that men of other nations are their brethren not destined to be their slaves, that "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof" then may be seen on earth what the poet saw in his vision of the heavens:

"I dreamt that overhead
I saw in twilight grey
The Army of the Dead
Marching upon its way.
So still and passionless,
With faces so serene,
That one could scarcely guess
Such men in war had been.

"No mark of hurt they bore,
Nor smoke, nor bloody stain;
Nor suffered any more
Famine, fatigue or pain;
Nor any lust of hate
Now lingered in their eyes—
Who have fulfilled their fate,
Have lost all enmities.

"A new and greater pride
So quenched the pride of race
That foes marched side by side
Who once fought face to face.
That ghostly army's plan
Knows but one rede, one rod
All nations there are Man,
And the one King is God.

"No longer on their ears
The bugle's summons falls;
Beyond these tangled Spheres
The Archangel's trumpet calls;
And by that trumpet led
Far up the exalted sky,
The Army of the Dead
Goes by and still goes by.

"Look upward, standing mute;
Salute!"

(NOTE: I have read this beautiful poem of Barry Pain's on many occasions. I make no excuses for reading it again. W. R. R.)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE HONORABLE THOMAS POWER O'CONNOR

Member of the British Parliament

I can scarcely remember the time when the name of Abraham Lincoln was not familiar to me. I still remember the strange thrill with which I listened to my professor reading out in the class the forecast in a newspaper as to what the different states of the Union were expected to do in case there came a war. I still remember the historic description of his interview with Abraham Lincoln by Goldwin Smith, one of the prominent Englishmen of his time, who was on the side of the North.

The first speech I ever made was on the Civil War. Finally there comes back to me, with something of the poignancy of the hour the day when Dennis, the good old porter of my college, said with sadness on his face, that there was a rumor that Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated; it was in the days before the Atlantic cable and I suppose then news did not reach the small and remote Irish town in which I then lived till some weeks after the tragic event.

But it was not until many years afterwards that I got some knowledge of Lincoln. One morning I found myself introduced

to a man who was seated in a bath chair taking, like myself, the cure at Carlsbad. He looked the splendid ruin of a great western man, the shoulders were unusually broad; the chest massive, the head massive and the massive features, and his expression gave a similar impression of a powerful temperament; powerful and yet genial and amiable. It was Ward Lamon, once a partner of Lincoln in this very town, afterwards his Marshal in Washington; for many years his intimate friend; always his devoted admirer.

Let me tell you the spirit in which I approach the study of Lincoln. In his case, as in the case of all public men, and indeed of all men who have influenced the world, I start from the principle of giving the whole truth and nothing but the truth. There is a tendency to make of Lincoln what is called plaster of paris saint; he is a saint in my secret calendar of saints; but you make less a saint of him trying to make him a plaster of paris saint. It was a great saying of Oliver Cromwell, "Paint me as I am, wart and all," and Lincoln would probably have said the same thing.

It is only snobbishness or prudery, or the vulgarity that sometimes calls itself elegance, that seeks to portray Lincoln in in-human perfection.

A great deal has been written on the very trivial question whether Lincoln's language was always that of the Sunday school. It wasn't; and some people have found it necessary to prove that he never used a big D.

What ignorance such criticism displays of human nature and of the masters that understand and control human nature! Wisdom is not effective which does not get to the simplest as well as to the erudite,—to the plain people as well as the scholars. A gospel has failed which is not in the language of the people.

The sayings of Lincoln are better known than those of any other president that ever lived in the white house. Many of these sayings summed up a whole world of wisdom and of policy in a single phrase which at once caught the imagination and reached the mind of his people, as for instance, when he warned the nation during his second election not to "swap horses when crossing the stream." If anybody object that his stories had sometimes phrases that are not used in the drawing room, again remembering my

principle that we are dealing with a saintly man, but not a plaster of paris man. I am not concerned to prove that the language was not always that of the drawing room.

Surely it is the merest prudery to contend that Lincoln's utterances so often in the somber philosophy of Solomon's vanity of vanities should also be combined with the healthy and wise laughter of "Don Quixote" or the *Pickwick Papers*. In this view of life, half ironical and yet pronouncedly serious, Lincoln was the embodiment of the point of view of the American people then and since.

If you scrutinize his utterances through the different epochs of his career you find at once great variety and yet underlying unity. His first appeal to the people is that of a somewhat rough man. Then you pass on to the period when his style has something of the pretentiousness of the self-educated man, until at last you reach the period when his utterances have the noble simplicity of the great masterpieces of literature.

There has been a strange theory that there were two Lincolns, and that it is impossible to account for the Lincoln of the white house and the Lincoln of Springfield. Coupled with this there has been much said about the defects of his education, as that he was only a little less than a year altogether at school, that he never attended university, that he never was outside America. I hold very strongly to the opinion that a university education is a very useful part of the life of any man, for everybody ought to inherit the wisdom of all the ages. And yet in a way I would not have had the education of Lincoln other than it was.

The greatest of all educators, the greatest of all universities, is the education and the university of life, always on the condition that you live. Lincoln lived to the utmost. There wasn't a part of the life around him, there was scarcely a part of the life of the whole nation, except of the idle rich, of which he did not have personal experience.

Like so many millions of other Americans, before and since, he had to work with his hands. He had to try storekeeping. He had to travel with baggage contained within the narrow frontier of his shabby tall hat from village to village and to occupy with

his fellow lawyer the same room and even the same bed. Men born with silver spoons have occasionally in human history been the leaders in the revolt and in the liberation of the plain people, but it remains the general truth that most men can realize the lives, the difficulties, the joys, the sorrows of the plain people only if they have been plain people themselves.

Imagine a president at the white house who had to ask millions of his countrymen to fight their fellow countrymen, to die the death, to pass through this awful struggle of four years of sanguinary war, frequent defeat, frequent disaster; imagine a president who came from the rich family of the crowded city, and I think you will realize the greater and the supreme fitness of Lincoln's training for Lincoln's task. It was because he understood the plain people that he was able to get the plain people to go through so tremendous and awful a strain.

I have heard it said that if you want to get the real opinion of the real American, by which is meant that vast population that lives outside the great cities, on lonely farms or in small towns, you have to go to the popular forum that gathers around the stove of the rustic hotel. This was the forum in which Lincoln at once sharpened his mind and studied and realized his people. Thus, graduating from the small stove to the big stove, from New Salem to Springfield, he was learning all the time. He was graduating in his university.

When he burst upon the east of America, and then on all America, as some strange unknown portent neither the east nor America had a real conception of the man. To them he was a rough, untutored, unsuccessful, provincial lawyer, trained in no arts but those of small and squalid politics.

"Who is this huckster in politics," asked Wendell Phillips; "who is this country bred advocate?" But he learned to know Lincoln better. In addition the ungainliness of his person much exaggerated had passed through the country, and especially through the South until he appeared, as Mr. Morse says, in his biography, "a Caliban in education, manners and aspect; the ape from Illinois, the green hand." There is a story of a proud South Carolina lady with fire in her eye, conempt in her manner,

getting an interview with him. And when before the gentle face and the calm and passionless conversation she was subdued, she expressed her amazement.

As a matter of fact, always every hour even of Lincoln's hard youth, was a preparation and a forecast of the Presidency. He himself thought of this culmination of his career from his earliest years and even in his earliest years he began his training. It is recorded that while still a child he was in the habit of addressing his boy and girl companions and could command their tears and laughter as easily as afterwards he commanded the whole nation.

It is even still more remarkable that those who were brought into immediate contact with him even in his most squalid hours were impressed with his greatness. Offut, who lured him into the disastrous partnership in the store at New Salem, used to declare that he not only had the best storekeeper in the world, but a man who one day would be President of the United States.

There are several other early prophecies of his future greatness. I am very much struck by the fact, too, that in spite of the ungainliness of appearance set forth, of course, by ill-fitting clothes, he had an immense power of immediately impressing large bodies of people. All his biographers relate how before he addressed an audience he gave them a long look from those wonderful gray-blue eyes of his, and that this look nearly always produced an immediate and immense effect. It was at once a manifestation of conscious mastery on his part and realization in the audiences of being faced by a master.

Those who didn't know him to be great were either those who were ignorant of him altogether or who, as is said to have been the case, were themselves too small to realize his greatness. His greatness at the White House was but the flowering of the seed that had been germinating in the days of his sad childhood and squalid youth.

Lincoln lived, moved and had his being in the city partly southern in its geographical situation, intensely southern in the sympathy of many of its people. Lincoln had almost every hour of the terrible four years of the Civil War to face division of opinion in almost every section of the country. Consequently

even after he had apparently reached safe ground he found the ground trembling and sinking under his feet. Among old political foes he found so grotesque a creature as Vallandigham of Ohio rise to a formidable enemy. Horace Greeley, one of the pioneers of the policy of emancipation, was weeping or appealing or denouncing at every critical hour.

This was the atmosphere of vituperation and disparagement, of disunion and false sentiment in which he lived from the first hour when a disgusted and supercilious Washington gave a scant welcome to this western man of the people. My friend, Ward Lamont, from among his very valuable records of the period showed me some of the attacks of papers, the brutality of which give me a shudder that recurs whenever I recall it. In times of war passionate and malignant rumor is busier and more fertile than in times of peace. There wasn't a step or a word of Lincoln's that wasn't scrutinized, misinterpreted, misrepresented by tens of thousands of malignant eyes.

Don't suppose because you laugh at these things today that Lincoln could laugh at them. He had the courage to go steadily on his way in spite of them all, but he went with bleeding heart and bleeding feet through that road of Golgotha. He was, as I have said, an intensely impressionable man, looking for the love in others that he gave to others, and we everywhere find upon him this hideous array of ignorant, rancorous and unscrupulous attack.

Have you ever, in thinking of the day of Appomattox, thought of the days that preceded them, the days after Bull Run and Fredericksburg? I own that as I read the descriptions of his contemporaries of that face, drawn, aged, gray as the gray walls of the chambers of the White House, with sleepless nights and days overhung with the hereditary gloom aggravated by all the anxiety and bloodshed and horrors, Abraham Lincoln appears to me as pre-eminently the greatest man of sorrows since he to whom that title was first given.

There never was a moment in the history of this country since the death of the illustrious man, by whose ashes we stand today, when the inspiration and lessons of his life are more needed by his people and his country. As a man, he stands as

much alive as though he were still among us. He is a flaming torch which leads on the inner soul of every American, whether he is standing by the honor of his country in his work at home or marching over barbed wire trenches against shell and cannon, to wounds or death. What American can be cowardly when his courage inspires, What American be selfish when his utter unselfishness is recorded in every page of his history? What American can prefer the claims of ambition or party in face of his forgetfulness of all personal and partisan feeling before an imperilled nation? What American can entertain or tolerate the very thought of a divided allegiance in face of his passionate patriotism and of the inflexible resolution with which he fought for a united nation?

Some men live by their writings, some by their glory on battle fields, some by their statesmanship, but there are rare men who, in addition to these great title deeds to immortality, live in the memory and gratitude of men as an undying inspiration by their own personal character and life. Such a man was Lincoln. Consider him in any of the many changes in his checked life, in private or in public; he never fails in your expectation of the highest. He was free from personal animosity or vindictiveness. He could smash the subtle logic of Stephen A. Douglas and meet him the same evening with a cordial outstretched hand—a splendid private friendship amid political differences that illuminate the life and character of Douglas as well as Lincoln.

In forming his cabinet, Lincoln did not choose little men that might on the one hand be subservient, and on the other, by their obscurity concentrate attention on his central glory. He chose great minds to share with him the awful task of saving the Union—Chase and Seward and Stanton; men that had been his rivals and that divided with him in equal, sometimes in even larger degree, the affection and support of the great masses of the country. In the friction and dissent that are inevitable in even the best ordered and the most honorable assemblage of able men, he always said the right thing, always did the right thing, could be inflexible in his own opinions and respectful of the opinions and still more of the feelings of others. Thus he was the greatest

chief of a cabinet that ever lived in the White House. The sweetness of temper that kept from his lips a word of impatience, the absence of even one word of self-esteem, the generous sharing with others of all the glory of victory, these things make him the greatest gentleman that ever lived in the White House. In his choice of policy when so many things were to be said in favor of one course or another, he opposed with tenacity and patience the opposition of political foes, the indiscretions of friends, the mistaken haste and narrowness of political zealots. Biding his time, choosing his own path to the great end, he always proved to be right. Through all the black night of defeat, amid divided counsel, factious and inept opposition, he led the people to the full sunshine of victory, the nation united forever, the slaves emancipated forever. Thus he was the greatest statesman that ever lived in the White House. Try to figure this man as he really was in his inner heart and soul. He was not of joyous nature. From hereditary or other causes he was a man who lived under the overshadowing gloom of melancholy. There was nothing in him of that robust love of battle (as in General Jackson) which transformed the battle field into the romance and chivalry of the personal jousts of the knights of old. Still less was he one of the great adventurers of history that find in even sanguinary deeds the laurels that transform them into a Caesar or a Napoleon. A burden though it was to him, that inner sadness has always appeared to me as suiting him for his task. It made him kin with all suffering men; like to the Man of Sorrows to whom in his humanity he bears so striking a resemblance, his message is often but a variation of the Sermon on the Mount in its plea for the poor, the righteous, the merciful. It was this sadness and sympathy with all men, this ever present inner outlook on the transience, the griefs, the trials of human life that lifted him above personal vanity and personal feeling. Yet, was it not strange destiny that in a world out of joint, gave to this man the awful and tragic task of waging war amid changing and often black fortunes, through an unexpected length of time, amid a multitude of horrors. And again, does it not raise him still higher in our estimate that yet he went on to the end, equal and resolute,

without ever listening to the shouting and reproachful world outside or to the somber forebodings in his own breast.

In thus overcoming others and in overcoming himself in this most terrible of all times, he was the strongest man that ever lived in the White House.

If you give full credit to all the brilliant men that helped him in the council chamber, to the generals whose skill won the victories in the field, Grant and Meade, Thomas and Sherman, Sheridan and Logan; yet the supreme fact of the war is that Lincoln was the man of men, the real leader, the one who towered above all the others. And here again, it is the personality of Lincoln that is the heart of the mystery. It may be true, as some of his intimates like your respected and venerable citizen, Mr. Bunn, insist, that nobody in this, his town, nor in any circle of friends, dared to offend his natural and commanding dignity by any address more familiar than "Mr. Lincoln," yet it was not as "Mr. Lincoln" that he was known to the plain people and to the soldiers. To them he was "honest Abe" or "Uncle Abe" or "Father Abraham." That meant that though hooted at, insulted, disparaged, despised, a huckstering politician, in the words of a great and good man who did not realise him, the plain people and the fighting soldier always understood him. They saw through all the poison gas in which enemies sought to cloud the glory of his character; realized his simplicity, his human nature, his tenderness, his honesty, his single-minded patriotism, and in defiance of the intrigues of politics and the misrepresentation of personal enemies they re-elected him as the good, the true, the wise and the merciful man that could best lead them out of the wilderness into the light.

Lowell is right in attributing this hold of Lincoln on the popular heart largely to the fact that he was in the truest sense of the word the first American that ever ruled in the white house. His predecessors were, of course, as good Americans as he, but, perhaps with the exception of General Jackson, they were courtly gentlemen who had been born in easy circumstances and refined homes. He was a man who had led the life of the frontier pio-

neer, who had fought the primeval fight of man with nature, who had helped to gather in a portion of the wild and untilled heritage that nature had given to America. He was a man who had worked for small daily wage, with literally horny hands and been forced to all sorts and conditions of life to make a scanty living. He had dwelt among the real fathers of America—the fathers who, though they have not written constitutions or Declarations of Independence, have in wild and remote settlements in the solitude of forest and virgin soil brought into being the great America of today.

Lincoln was in the best sense of the word the self-made man, and the self-made man is the typical American. Of the energy, the self-reliance, the simplicity and the stern straight-forwardness which are still the spiritual foundations of American character, Lincoln was the embodiment. He was the embodiment of the other characteristics of the genuine American. Lowly, almost squalid in his birth and upbringing, poor all his life, child of the lonely cabin in the prairie, who wielded with his own hand the axe and the plow; how in the small rural store of the village, then in the ill-paid postoffice, the country lawyer, traveling with a small equipment of baggage, and willing to share a bedroom with a friend, yet Lincoln became the gentleman in manner and appearance, in speech and demeanor as well as in the higher spiritual gifts of the soul. What nation could produce its greatest citizen out of such modest material but a Republic, which teaches to all its children, from their earliest hours, the equality, the pride, the self-reliance, the dignity that are the birthright of every child of a Republic? Thus the American people recognized in Lincoln not only the embodiment but the vindication of their institutions. Thus Lincoln was the greatest and most genuine American that ever lived in the white house.

Again, Lincoln is the most marvelous example of the easy and instinctive self-development of the child of the American Republic. Scanty in schooling, poor in the learning of the ages and the books, he produced speeches and writings that in their simplicity, their choice of the right word, their directness, their measured eloquence, are as much masterpieces of literature as the

dialogues of Plato or the orations of Demosthenes. And so Lincoln was the greatest man of letters that ever lived in the White House.

Finally, in the midst of all the storms of his day, while others raged, he did not rage, while others hated, he did not hate, while others cried for vengeance, he preached forgiveness. He was thus the greatest Christian that ever lived in the White House.

Such, then, was the man. What of his gospel, and especially what of his gospel as applied to the position of Lincoln's country today? Can any man doubt where he would stand if in the crisis through which his country is now passing he was still its ruler?

His attitude with regard to the problems of his country today can be ascertained almost as clearly as if he were still alive—still at the White House; indeed so clear is this that you can pick a text in absolutely his own words that meets every problem—that answers every question—that rouses every hope, and dissipates every apprehension of the hour.

Do you think that America could remain free while Europe was enslaved? Then the voice of Lincoln comes to you with the words "This Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

Have you any doubt as to the justice of President Wilson's demand that nations shall have the right of choosing their government and shaping their own destinies? Listen to Lincoln. Lincoln's words: "What I do say is—that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent," or listen again to the passage which though applied to the extinct slavery of the New World is still applicable to the existing slavery which Germany imposes and seeks to extend on the world today: "When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man that is despotism."

When President Wilson addressed his appeal to the masses of Germany he might have quoted from Lincoln the words, "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and under a just God cannot long retain it."

If you want the summing up of the issue between your nation and the Hohenzollerns here it is again in the precise words of Lincoln: "Two principles have stood face to face from the beginning of time and will ever continue to struggle—the one is the common right of humanity and the other is the divine right of the kings."

Could your task be better expressed than in these words: "It has been said of the world's history hitherto that might makes right. It is for us and for our times to reverse the maxim and to show that right makes might."

And finally if throughout a struggle which may be prolonged and must be checkered there be any faint hearted enough to think that you should end the struggle in an indecisive peace, let them go back to Lincoln and study his attitude in the hour of America's greatest tribulation. Here was a man distinguished above other men by his tenderness, pity and love; tenderness, pity and love not bounded by even human beings but extended to animals; so hateful of even necessary punishment that over and over again we have the phrase of bursting relief, "Give me that pen," as he rushes to sign a pardon. So considerate even in a time of frenzied passion, violent hate and boundless and cruel abuse as to be able to say "I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom."

Assailed, denounced wildly, importuned incessantly by the Horace Greeleys and other humane but unwise adherents of the unfinished work, think of all this in Lincoln's life and then see the inflexible tenacity with which he went through all the bloody horrors and often the unmitigated gloom of the Civil War to the end. "War," he said, "has been made and continues to be an indispensable means to the end." Or take the words, "I hope peace will come soon, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time."

Or finally, take these words, which are almost like the thunder from Mount Sinai:

"The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats."

The spirit then of Lincoln is the spirit of Wilson. Higher indeed than the spirit of Lincoln or Wilson or Washington is the

spirit of the American people—that people with all the vast changes brought about by all the flowing tides of immigration from all the races of the world remains one in purpose, in fundamental conviction; in essential ideals; in temperament. This nation founded by men who abandoned home and property and safety and sought over tempestuous seas new and unknown homes to flee from tyranny remain the unconquerable enemies of tyranny. The spirit of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence is still the spirit of America. It is the children of their loins and of their ideals that are the governing spiritual and political forces of the nation.

Today the problem is different and yet essentially the same as brought the men and women to Plymouth Rock. They sought liberty instead of slavery of the Old World—today they are giving back to the Old World the liberty which they established in the New.

Like the Man of Sorrow, he drank the chalice in his garden of Gethsemane to its dregs, though often he wished that it might pass away. Like the Man of Sorrows, no cruelty would make him cruel. No undeserved suffering could make him hard. To his last hour and last words he remained the Abraham Lincoln known in his childhood—tender, understanding, compassionate. Ever throughout all his messages the grim and inflexible resolution to fight on to the end is interspersed with appeals to reason and to mercy. Throughout it all there is the refrain, “with malice toward none, with charity to all.”

It was mete that the day of such a man's taking off should be Good Friday. Tragic, horrible as was his assassination at such an hour, would it have been better for the world if it had been otherwise? Would he be today that powerful inspiration to all of us, to patriotism, towards firmness in the right, towards the noble life and the noble death if he had not so died? Today his country and we are face to face again with an imperiled nation, with the old, old struggle between liberty and slavery, between might and right. Though dead, he speaketh. Laid low, he yet towers above your armies and your fleets. He is your invisible and your unconquerable leader.

THE CENTENARY OF THE ILLINOIS ENABLING ACT, APRIL 18, 1918

The official celebration of the Illinois Centennial, commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the passage of the Enabling Act, was held in the Hall of Representatives on April 17th and 18th, under the joint auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission, and the Illinois State Historical Society. Its impressiveness was deeply felt by all who were present on that occasion.

The Illinois Centennial Commission joined with the Illinois Historical Society in an interesting observance of the anniversary. The celebration began on the evening of Wednesday, April 17th, with a session presided over by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, president of the Illinois Historical Society, and chairman of the Centennial Commission. There was a luncheon at the Illini Country Club at noon on Thursday the 18th, presided over by Dr. Schmidt, and attended by Governor Lowden and the other State officers, Justices of the Supreme Court, the speakers of the day, and other distinguished guests. At the same time, the ladies of this party were entertained at a luncheon at the St. Nicholas Hotel presided over by Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, secretary of the Historical Society, and of the Illinois Centennial Commission. Thursday afternoon at 3:00 o'clock, another session was held, presided over by Dr. Schmidt. On Thursday evening the principal observance occurred. Governor Lowden presided at this session.

All of the sessions were held in the Hall of Representatives.

At the Wednesday evening session the address of welcome was delivered by President Edmund J. James, of the University of Illinois, who told of the early days of the State, and of its importance to the Union. Mr. H. J. Eckenrode, of Richmond, Virginia, discussed "Virginia in the Making of Illinois," and Professor Allen Johnson, of Yale University, delivered a most interesting address on "Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Century."

At the Thursday afternoon session, addresses were delivered by Professor Elbert Jay Benton, of the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, and Mr. Charles W. Moores, of Indianapolis. Mr. Benton discussed "Establishing the American Colonial System in the Old Northwest," and Mr. Moore's paper was on "Indiana's Interest in Historic Illinois." Professor Clarence Walworth Alvord, of the University of Illinois, editor-in-chief of the Centennial Memorial History, was on the program to tell of the "Illinois Centennial History," but because of the lateness of the hour his paper was not given.

Following the afternoon session, tea was served at Edwards Place, on the invitation of the Springfield Art Club.

At the evening session, Hon. Louis Aubert, a member of the French High Commission to the United States, delivered an inspiring address on the relation of the French to Illinois. Governor Lowden, in introducing Monsieur Aubert, paid a high tribute to the gallantry, the bravery and endurance of the French nation in the present crisis. The Centennial address was delivered by Hon. Edgar A. Bancroft, of Chicago. It was both eloquent and instructive.

Following the evening session, a reception was held in the lower corridor of the State Capitol, and refreshments were served.

Music for the various sessions was furnished by Mrs. Gary H. Westenberger of Springfield, who sang the Centennial songs; Miss Ruby Evans, of Bloomington, who sang a group of songs; the John L. Taylor Orchestra, and the Temple Boys' Choir. The invocation was delivered at the opening session by Rev. William F. Rothenberger, and at the Thursday evening session by Bishop Granville H. Sherwood. Madame Aubert came to Springfield with her distinguished husband and Mrs. Edgar A. Bancroft also was present.

The Hall of Representatives was beautifully decorated with Centennial banners, United States flags, and the flags of the Allies. A large temporary stage was erected across the front of the hall, and on this the State officers, Justices of the Supreme Court, and other dignitaries were seated during the celebration.

The celebration of the adoption of the Enabling Act on April 18th was very general throughout the State. Schools and colleges, especially, observed the event.

The program for the official celebration at Springfield was as follows:

OPENING SESSION—WEDNESDAY EVENING,

APRIL 17, 1918—8:00 O'CLOCK

DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT

*President of the Historical Society and Chairman of the
Centennial Commission, Presiding*

Invocation.....Rev. William F. Rothenberger

"Illinois".....Temple Boys' Choir

Address of Welcome—"The Illinois Centennial".....

.....President Edmund J. James
University of Illinois

Music.....Temple Boys' Choir

Address—"Virginia in the Making of Illinois"..H. J. Eckenrode
Richmond, Virginia

Music.....Temple Boys' Choir

Address—"Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Cen-
tury".....Allen Johnson

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 18, 1918—

3:00 O'CLOCK

The Centennial Hymn.....Mrs. Gary H. Westenberger

Address—"Establishing the American Colonial System in the
Old Northwest".....Elbert Jay Benton

Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio—
Secretary Western Reserve Historical Society

Address—"Indiana's Interest in Historic Illinois".....

.....Charles W. Moores
Indianapolis

Music

Address—"The Illinois Centennial History".....

.....Clarence Walworth Alvord
University of Illinois, Editor-in-Chief of the Centennial History

Tea at Historic Edwards Place 5:30 to 6:00 o'clock
By Invitation of the Springfield Art Club

THURSDAY EVENING—8:00 o'CLOCK

THE HONORABLE FRANK O. LOWDEN

Governor of the State of Illinois, Presiding

"Illinois Centennial March".....Edward C. Moore

John L. Taylor's Orchestra

Invocation.....Right Reverend Granville H. Sherwood

March—"Freedom and Glory".....Edward C. Moore

John L. Taylor's Orchestra

Address—"A Message From France".....The Hon. Louis Aubert

Of the French High Commission to the United States

Songs.....Miss Ruby Evans

Bloomington

Centennial Address.....Edgar A. Bancroft

Chicago

Reception

THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY EDMUND J. JAMES

President of the University of Illinois

The committee in charge of this meeting has invited me to extend a word of welcome to our guests who have come from abroad to participate in this great celebration, which we formally inaugurate tonight—the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the admission of Illinois to the Union.

I do not know just why the committee selected me for this honorable post unless indeed it is that I am one of the few surviving members of the first families of Illinois. My grandfather, on my mother's side, Rev. Anthony Wayne Casad, entered land in what is now Clinton County on the site of the present city of Trenton in the year 1817; and moved his family the following year to St. Clair County and settled at Union Grove near what is now Summerfield. He shortly afterwards removed to Lebanon, in which or in the adjoining districts of which, he lived for some forty years. My mother was born in Lebanon and was so attached to her native state that with the exception of an occasional shopping trip to St. Louis she never even set foot outside of its boundaries, though she lived to be over fifty years of age. My

father came into the state within ten years after it was admitted to the Union. And here I was born over sixty years ago and have lived most of my life within its boundaries.

My father was a Methodist preacher, and in common with the members of his craft in that early day we moved from one appointment to another with great facility. We had hardly unpacked our goods and stowed them away in the parsonage in one town before we had to pull up and move on to the next at the order of the Bishop, or the earnest request of the parishioners either in the town we went to or sometimes the town we were leaving.

It is sometimes said by men, who like to point a moral or adorn a tale, that Methodist preachers' boys are a pretty difficult lot of youngsters to get along with, and that in the early days at any rate the congregations were quite willing to see Methodist preachers move on, who had a considerable number of boys in the family. As our family numbered more boys than girls and as they were a somewhat mischievous lot, that fact may account for a greater degree of moveability than was characteristic of most families.

However that may be, one of the incidental results of this continued habit of moving was that I got a pretty thorough acquaintance with a considerable number of different counties in the State; and I have no doubt that this acquaintanceship with settlers from the southern part of the State, and settlers from the extreme north, and settlers in the east and settlers in the west, and a consequent acquaintance with all the forces which went to make up the Commonwealth, had a very real influence in preparing me for the difficult duties of the position with which the people of Illinois have honored me during the last fourteen years.

As a family we have lived in twenty-one different counties in this State, and I have known specimens of every kind of human being that has gone to make up what we call the Commonwealth of Illinois.

Perhaps, it was for this reason that your committee invited me to extend to you on their behalf the most cordial welcome

to this initial meeting of our celebration. However, whatever may have been the reason, I am very happy indeed that this privilege was accorded me. And in the name of the Commonwealth for whose Governor I speak, in the name of the Centennial Commission in the name of the State Historical Society I bid you one and all a hearty welcome to this great occasion.

The Commonwealth of Illinois has ever been hospitable to the new comer. Lying stretched across more than five and one-half parallels of latitude, embracing within its boundaries over four degrees of longitude, washed along the entire stretch of its western front by the Father of Waters, touching Lake Michigan at its extreme northeastern point and bounded for a portion of its territory by the Wabash, and for another brief stretch by the Ohio, it was so located that many lines of emigration from the east to the far west led through its territory. And here stopped very many people who had started from their eastern homes along the Atlantic seaboard and farther east from beyond the seas with the intention of going to California,—some of them because they were bankrupt and couldn't get farther—some because they got stuck in the mire and could not pull out—some of them because they were attracted by the climate and soil, by the flowers and streams of the prairie state, lingered, entered land, developed it and became the pillars of the Commonwealth.

From every State in the Union, from every European country and from Asia and Africa as well, scores and hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands of human beings—some for one reason and some for another have poured into the territory of this great State and joining hearts and hands have built it up from a group of trackless prairies and pathless forests within a century to one of the most enviable portions of the earth's surface—no matter by what standard you judge such portions.

Whether you wish to measure the glory of a state by its crops or minerals or fish or means of communication or banks or industries; or by its schools and colleges; or by its churches and its religion; or by its willingness to provide for its dependents and defectives through its hospitals and asylums; or by the sacrifices it has made for the country and the world, in this case,

through the service of its sons in southern fields to preserve the Union, and now on the blood stained fields of France to preserve peace and liberty and righteousness and justice for all men--no matter what the test—Illinois will compare favorably with any equal portion of the earth's surface which has behind it only a hundred years of separate political organization.

And to all this we bid you welcome!

In the few minutes accorded me in this program, I do not know that I can do a better thing than to call your attention to the peculiar feature of our national polity which this day, whose anniversary we celebrate, signalized.

Here was a great extent of fertile territory, occupied by a very small population—some of it not occupied at all in any proper sense of the term—simply moved over occasionally by a semi-nomadic hunting population consisting of a few bands of more or less savage Indians.

Its favorable location, however, the fertility of its soil, its mineral wealth, its prairies, its forests, the wealth of streams, all indicated that as a part of the American Republic it was destined to be occupied by a rapidly growing population of white people of European origin, traditions and culture.

How was it to be governed? Up to this time it had slowly been coming under the influence of institutions which found their origin in the early societies of Europe and other lands, which partly unconsciously and partly by formal governmental actions had been imposed upon them. For a short time before this date they or such of them as lived near enough together had had a certain privilege of helping to make some of the laws under which they lived. But such law making was only a matter of sufferance. It had been permitted by a Congress located far away on the banks of the Potomac and the permission could be withdrawn by the same power as had given it.

This power said to this population on the 18th of April, 1818, you may now draw up a scheme of government for the regulation of your own affairs and if this plan is approved by our members, does not violate any of the clauses of our Federal Constitution

and is otherwise in harmony with our American tradition we will let you form a state and come into our American Union of States. We will let you send chosen delegates to both houses of Congress and we will give you the same position so far as political privileges are concerned and the same share in the government of the country as the other States of the Union; and at the same time we will give up all rights on our part to regulate your affairs for you and we will go farther, we will undertake to guarantee your independence as a political unit—not only against the possible encroachments of other nations and other states; but against our own interference with your internal affairs. In return we shall only ask you to do your part as a member of the Union.

Now we have become so used to this process of adding political units to our government that we seldom stop to think of how new a device it was in the history of politics and how difficult it was to introduce it with our system.

One of the great problems of all human political history has been this very one of providing a peaceful and efficient means of aggregating human population.

The ancient world in historic periods seemed to have discovered no way by which this could be done except by forcible annexation or conquest. Of course small communities have often united for purposes of defense against the aggressions of stronger powers. Families which grew large and then split apart sometimes came together again and formed a union of tribes like the Jews.

Rome seems to have grown out of a union of small tribes. Then it enlarged its union as in the admission to Roman privileges of sister cities and Italy; though this process was accompanied by long and bitter wars.

She expanded later by planting colonies of Roman citizens in distant territories and ultimately extended the privilege of Roman citizenship to freemen throughout the Roman territory. But all this was accompanied by such bitter struggles that by the time it was accomplished the Republic had disappeared in the Empire.

The greatest free nation outside of the American Republic—our own mother country—has not even yet been able to devise a scheme by which even the most progressive states of its great empire can be represented in its highest law making body.

Canada, Australia, South Africa have no such relation to the Government of the British Empire as Illinois to the Federal Government of the United States.

Now this device was not adopted in this country without a struggle and without the expression of grave doubts as to whether the scheme would not end in the early dissolution of the Union.

Many of the States of the Atlantic seaboard looked forward with fear and jealousy to a time when the Senators from the newer states which under such a policy could multiply rapidly, could easily outdo those from the older states, and to the time when the center of gravity would be on the banks of the Mississippi instead of on the banks of the Potomac.

But with the adoption of this plan, friends, we have established a policy under which the rapid conquest of the heart of the continent was made possible and with that the foundations of the republic so securely laid that no combination of political powers could shake them.

Now, of course, the conditions were favorable for the easy working of such a plan.

We had already, when the plan was adopted, under our jurisdiction the bulk of the territory which we ultimately gained this side of the Mississippi. It was mostly open territory—without cities or towns or for the most part even any white population of respectable numbers.

The only occupants were the American Indians who would not adopt the habits or customs of the whites and were not strong enough to resist the ever increasing tide of immigration.

The first people to come in in large numbers were the roving and restless elements in the white population east of the mountains or the energetic and progressive elements of the people who had been thoroughly broken up by the events of the Revolutionary War and all of them had brought what political ideas they had

from their homes in the Atlantic States. They were bourgeois in their notions.

They had no settled population to overcome or to be swallowed up by. They had their Lares and Penates with them and set up their family altars by every stream, in every forest along the foothills of every mountain chain and finally in every prairie and speaking generally they had none to molest or make them afraid.

They were men who could and did build states; held all territory they acquired; and were ever ready to acquire more.

The disturbance in Europe incident to the Napoleonic Wars favored their peaceful and undisturbed development and threw Louisiana into their lap and by the time they were ready to seize the northern part of Mexico—no European state was strong enough to prevent it.

This device therefore, of which the event we celebrate tonight was an excellent specimen, might not have worked in any other country—though the development in Canada has been somewhat similar—but it was certainly here a glorious success.

And when this Great War is over and our Allied armies have entered the city of Berlin and the wise-men of all nations are gathered around the Counsel Board to determine how the world may be made safe for democracy and how justice and righteousness and peace may be established in this war torn world, I am quite sure that some plan of world federation will be adopted under which any nation or state may enter the federation on the same terms as Illinois entered the American Union, viz.: a constitution in harmony with the principles of such world federation, a promise to abide by the general traditions of free nations as expressed in the constitution of the federation—and in return receiving the guarantee of the federated nations that she would be protected in her local self government and independent against all attacks of predatory kings or peoples no matter how strong they may be.

In this work our own country must lead and give the decisive vote.

And Illinois will be found shoulder to shoulder with her sister states in extending and guaranteeing to all peoples in the world the privileges which have been hers.

VIRGINIA IN THE MAKING OF ILLINOIS

H. J. ECKENRODE

It is my privilege to bear the fraternal greetings of the Virginia Historical Society to this assembly on the happy and auspicious occasion of the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Statehood of Illinois. It is also my honor and pleasure this evening to speak of the part played by Virginia in the origin and development of Illinois.

Illinois has been often called, and with reason, the foremost commonwealth of the Union; and, as we see it today, it is great, prosperous, rich in material wealth and rich in human happiness. It is a type of modern civilization, offering all that seems best in twentieth-century life. But it is not of the present Illinois, in which it has been your fortunate lot to be born, that I am here to speak, but of that Illinois of long ago, the Illinois of forests and uninhabited prairies, of Indians and wild beasts—the embryo Illinois, still unshaped by fate, as it waited to be born. The task is mine to outline those prenatal forces which determined what Illinois should be, when, in the fulness of time, it became a community of civilized men.

Happily there is no tendency today to begrudge the South the credit due to it for its share in the making of America. After the long estrangement all parts of the United States are now joined in a fraternal love and fellowship which augurs well for the future of the nation. One of your finest Middle West statesmen—one of the finest Americans of the present generation, in my opinion—ex-Senator Beveridge of Indiana, in his great work on John Marshall, has generously acknowledged the important contribution of Virginia to the development of America.

In the publications of the Illinois Historical Society, which are a model of scholarship and of the book-maker's art as well, the great work done by Virginia in the West is set forth at length. Indeed, in recent years there has been a growing tendency all through the North and West to appreciate at its full worth the part of the South in the moulding of the American nation, and a

realization that without the South the National life would be the poorer.

The discovery of America was one of those events which should help to confirm our faith in Providence, even in spite of the fearful turmoil of the present. The discovery was not only a matter of supreme good fortune to mankind, but the time of discovery as well. It came at the end of the Middle Ages, in a period of great change and rapid development, when the influence of such an unprecedented happening produced its maximum effect. If the Norse had colonized America centuries before Columbus, there would have been only another feudal Europe on our shores; if the discovery of America had been delayed until Europe had come into full contact with India and the East and had completed the growth of the new civilization which came into being at the close of the feudal era, America would not have so greatly influenced the life of humanity. But the discovery, by enlarging man's physical world by vast, uninhabited regions at the very moment when his spiritual and intellectual vision was enlarging, proved decisive of the future of the race.

At the end of the Middle Ages, European man had passed through the centuries of disorder and anarchy following the destruction of antique civilization and was busily engaged in evolving a life which embodied the germ of representative government and the other great, distinctive modern ideas.

Much had been learned in the Middle Ages, but man had suffered very grievously in the course of his hard schooling. Political and social caste had become more deeply imbedded in human consciousness than at any other time in human existence, and democracy was as yet almost unthought of. Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, written at this time, seemed a hopeless dream of justice and equality. Class distinctions were embodied in law, and the chance for the poor man, the obscure man, in England as in all European countries, was exceedingly small. There was then, at the time of the discovery of America, a young and plastic civilization, full of promise but threatened with destruction by the growing economic pressure due to an increasing population.

Some way of emancipation was needed and the New World supplied the need.

When the English settled America—Virginia first in 1607, and Massachusetts a few years later—they brought with them the ideas, traditions and prejudices of medieval Europe, along with the priceless inheritance of English liberty and English institutions. The contemporary accounts of American life in the first century of colonization do not make cheerful reading. De Foe, for instance, paints a dreary picture of Virginia, and there is no hint in his description of the splendid civilization maturing beneath the surface. In New England, too, there was a long age of religious bigotry and narrow living—of smallness and dulness—before the New England spirit gained its great historic growth.

But gradually, in the vast areas of America, in the immense stretches of pine and oak forest, offering breathing space and working-space and happiness-space to the immigrants from crowded Europe, a spiritual revolution was wrought.

Every individual was offered a chance to become a free man—that is to make a decent living for himself and for his family without a master over him. The pine forests have proved good for the health of the ailing body; they are also good for the ailing spirit. European man came sick to the American shores and in the wild, untenanted woods his soul found healing. He began to lose his age-long class consciousness and to stand erect and free.

The English in Virginia, favored by a good soil and a kindly climate, built up one of the two civilizations which were destined to grow into the United States. The other was developing, at the same time and quite independently, in New England.

The community founded by the tobacco planters in Virginia was one of the most notable and influential in modern history, by reason of its singular charm and its solid merit as well. It was a life of great freedom and eminent sanity that the planters lived on the beautiful rivers of Old Virginia. The spell of that life, so admirably described by our Ambassador to Italy, Thomas Nelson Page, has been cast over the whole South and West. Surely the gracious tradition of Middle West hospitality is Virginian in

origin, and from the same source comes the Middle West joy of living.

The fine tradition of English constitutional liberty flowered in the Virginia House of Burgesses, which, by the middle of the eighteenth century, had become in many ways the foremost legislative body in the world. The modern committee system was first perfected in the House of Burgesses, before the House of Commons in England and before our own Congress.

In almost every way the House of Burgesses was a model of parliamentary procedure and enlightened legislation. It was this House of Burgesses which first perceived and resisted the sinister tendencies of the British government as these became manifest at various times in the eighteenth century. It maintained clearly and effectively the principle of constitutional government.

In Virginia, in that wonderful period between the close of the French and Indian War and the close of the Revolution, American democracy grew to fruition. The Virginia planters, far freer and far more generous in outlook than their brethren, the English landed proprietors, willingly adopted the ideals of democracy and gave them practical realization in the government of the commonwealth.

It was the great democrat, Patrick Henry, whose name should be forever dear to the lovers of liberty, that first openly defied the British government and began the Revolution. It was the equally great George Mason, who, in the Virginia Bill of Rights, laid down, once for all, the principles of free government, and who, in the Virginia constitution of 1776, gave the world the first written constitution. And there, too, was Thomas Jefferson, the greatest of them all, who wrote the Declaration of Independence and changed the ideal of national democracy from the dream-stuff of generous thinkers into that governmental system to which our allegiance and our lives are pledged.

Virginia and New England together lighted the fires of the Revolution and brought the American nation into being in that ever-happy year of 1776. But the outcome of the war with the greatest military power of the age was doubtful; and even if inde-

pendence were achieved, it seemed likely that the United States would be bounded on the west by the Alleghany Mountains.

There were then no American settlers in the vast region between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. A few Frenchmen were the only white inhabitants of this region, which was held by British garrisons at various points. If the year 1783 had found those garrisons still in possession, of the Illinois country, the ground we stand on would be English soil and not American. The whole history of the United States would have been different, its promise would have been frustrated. The United States today would be a second-rate power instead of the greatest and strongest nation on the globe.

The fact is held in grateful remembrance by all Americans that a Virginian preserved our country from a thwarted destiny and gave to the republic the incomparable gift of the Middle West. Not equally well known is the share of the Virginia government in bringing about the fortunate consummation.

George Rogers Clark was one of those immortal men who see through the darkness of the present to the may-be of the future and so save the world from the might-have-beens. Amidst all the distraction of the Revolutionary War as it raged in the East, Clark preserved a wise detachment. He realized the possibilities of the great forest-covered, Indian-haunted West. The West fascinated him and he turned from the opportunity of honorable service in the Continental Army to the greater service of claiming the West for America. He dreamed of leading an army past the Alleghanies and driving the British from the land.

He could do nothing, however, without some governmental sanction and aid. And where was this aid to be obtained?

The harassed Continental Congress, at its wit's end to keep the Eastern Army supplied and equipped, had no leisure or resources to devote to so remote an adventure as the conquest of the West. Clark's one chance lay in the favorable action of the Virginia government, and consequently he went to Williamsburg and laid his case before the authorities.

Most fortunately for America and the world, Patrick Henry happened to be Governor of Virginia at the time, and he was the

farther-sighted statesman of his age. When the young Clark pleaded with him for his great idea, Henry listened with sympathy. He then called in consultation Thomas Jefferson, George Mason and George Wythe, and the decision was made to send out the expedition destined to conquer the West—surely one of the most fateful decisions ever made.

It required courage on Henry's part to think of making efforts in a new field at such a time. My researches in the Virginia Department of Archives, which in recent years has become a center of historical study, taught me that Virginia's share in the support of the American Revolution has been greatly under-estimated. The records show that through all the early years of the struggle, when the North^a was the scene of invasion and therefore weakened in resources, immense quantities of beef and flour and thousands of guns went up Chesapeake Bay to Washington's Army. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that that army could not have kept the field but for the aid given by the Southern commonwealth.

Although the burden of the Revolution thus rested so largely on Virginia, and every dollar was badly needed for the prosecution of the war in the East, Patrick Henry was sufficiently large-minded to see the vital importance of the West and to make a special effort to claim it. The means available were small and could not have been otherwise than small at such a moment. The obstacles were almost insuperable. Circumstances and men alike seemed to conspire against the undertaking; and if it had not been for the unyielding will and unfailing enthusiasm of George Rogers Clark, the expedition would never have set out at all.

But at last, in that history-making summer of 1778, Clark sailed down the Ohio to claim for America a land richer than all the El Dorados of the imagination. He had something less than two hundred men, and the little company trusted itself to the waters on rough wooden scows which were without other motive power than hand-poles. And yet his small expedition, armed only with rifles and poorly supplied with food and ammunition and everything else needed in campaigning, performed one of the most notable military achievements in the annals of war.

That little band, drifting down the Ohio to the West through the interminable forest, carried with it the destiny of America. It carried with it all that Virginia had inherited from England and all that she herself originated or developed—it carried the English law as applied in America, the idea of constitutional liberty, the fine qualities of planter culture, the democracy which had grown up under Henry and Jefferson and Mason—a rich seed for the fertile soil of the Middle West.

How the valiant handful came to Illinois and conquered is an old story—through their matchless hardihood and their bravery they added the West to the United States. When Clark raised the American standard over the Illinois forts, the crisis had passed in the fate of the nation; it then became a question only of time before the United States should expand to the Pacific. All our great advance towards the setting sun was the logical outcome of the American conquest of Illinois.

It is a fact most gratifying to a Virginian and flattering to his pride that the first organization of Illinois as American soil was accomplished under the government of Virginia. In the fall of 1778, the assembly constituted the new region the County of Illinois in the Commonwealth of Virginia. After the old Virginia fashion, a County Lieutenant, John Todd, Jr., was sent out to organize the county and govern it. Thus a Virginian county lieutenant was the first civil ruler of Illinois under the American flag. Todd appointed judges and effected such an organization as was possible in a territory of vast distances and few and alien inhabitants. In his letter of instructions to County Lieutenant Todd, Governor Henry struck the note of true Americanism as by some prophetic instinct: "You are on all occasions to inculcate in the people of the region the value of liberty and the difference between the state of free citizens of this commonwealth and that slavery to which Illinois was destined." Settlers from Virginia soon followed the soldiers, and the first permanent element in the life of Illinois was thus almost exclusively Virginian.

The rest of the story is familiar to you—how Virginia generously resigned the territory which her arms had won to the government of the United States, to be the common possession of all

the states. In the due course of time—now just a century ago—Illinois began her great career as a sovereign State. The Virginian element in Illinois has been an honorable one, and many of the foremost citizens of the Commonwealth trace their origin to the Old Dominion.

It will be seen that Virginia's share in the making of Illinois was a most important contribution. So, too, was that of New England. The New England settlers, who came by thousands in the early years of the nineteenth century, completed the work which it was Virginia's lot to inaugurate. Virginia did all in her power to fashion Illinois into an American Commonwealth. New England sent her finest blood, her keenest brains, to assist in the building of the great State of the Middle West. Here the two main civilizations have blended to produce the typical American Commonwealth and the typical American spirit. The rich Illinois lands drew not only Virginian and New Englander, but Pennsylvanians and New Yorkers as well, and men from all the eastern states and from beyond the seas. Here all currents of our life met to build up in the Middle West the first distinctively and originally American communities.

In the Middle West the process of nation-making was completed. That process had had its origin in Great Britain and in Holland; and in the Atlantic states the ideal of free government, the germs of which had been borne across the ocean, had grown to flower. On the Atlantic slope modern democracy had its birth and the modern attitude towards life came into existence.

But neither Virginia nor New England represented the last stage in the long development. About both there lingered much of European custom and prejudice; both of them at times looked backwards towards the European shore. Both were too self-contained, too marked with local characteristics to produce the final type in American civilization. That was the work of the Middle West.

The very names of the East are reminiscent of Europe—Virginia, Carolina, Maryland, New York, New England. They reflect the European colonization of the Atlantic slope. But the beautiful name of Illinois is novel and unmistakable; it belongs to America

and to America alone. It breathes the thought of a new world born in the free forests and the unfenced prairies of the West.

In 1812, the London Times, in commenting on the victory of the Constitution over the Guerriere, spoke thus of the Americans: "They are of us, and an improvement on us." In the same way the East may say of Illinois: "It is of the East and an improvement on the East." In Illinois an American community came into existence which had no direct contact with European life—which was wholly American and growing to maturity in the age of the expansion of the American spirit. In the Middle West the last feudal scars on the soul of European man were smoothed away and mankind entered into the full enjoyment of modern life, with its broad democracy, its free opportunity and its hope of happiness.

It was the part of Illinois and the Middle West to give the world a fresh and rich civilization, which, it may be believed, will in the end transform the world. This civilization is democratic but it is also more than that. It is not the Athenian democracy of small things. It is a civilization which has vastly enlarged the prospect of man's material welfare. Here in the Middle West agriculture first became epic; on the broad prairies modern farming machinery was first used with effect, and the world's food supply was increased ten-fold. It is this largeness of life which the Middle West has added to the making of America. The Middle West is not a land of pettiness and smallness, of inertia and hesitation. It is a country of broad-minded men and women—of people who go forward, who are not afraid of the untried, who look towards better things in the future because the present is so rich and full.

We meet here in a solemn hour. The historic civilizations of Europe are dying. Science, art, literature, industry are perishing in the blood-flamed horror of the Great War. It is the fate of America to be the decisive factor in the struggle, to turn the even scales. When the titanic struggle for human right shall have ended, the United States will be the greatest, richest and most civilized country on earth. It will reach in a stride that manifest destiny which the forces of life marked out for the land more

than a century ago, when the Middle West became American soil. How precious American civilization will be in the wreck of nations and the downfall of races, we can hardly appreciate as yet.

But we do know even now that America, as great in her generosity as she is terrible in her wrath, will be the hope of the world and that the stars of Old Glory will shine more brightly than ever in the darkness of humanity's night.

The place of Illinois in the history of the century just past is a great and honorable one. Her share in the achievement of the coming century will be even larger. Illinois has always stood four-square for patriotism, freedom and the right to live and grow—for all the higher things of life. As never before the nation needs the virile democracy, the largeness of outlook, the open-mindedness of Illinois; and because of this need the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great Commonwealth is a time of congratulation and a harbinger of good things yet to come.

ILLINOIS IN THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT OF THE CENTURY

ALLEN JOHNSON

In the month of November, one hundred years ago, two congresses were in session four thousand miles apart. One was an inconspicuous gathering of plain citizens, representatives of the common people, charged with prosaic duties: the levying of taxes, the appropriating of public moneys, the framing of laws for a people still largely raw and rural, still amazingly ignorant of the vastness of their own country. This congress sat in an unkempt town whose public buildings had been burned, only four years before, by an invading army. The city of Washington was barely eighteen years old.

The other congress convened at the ancient town of Aix-la-Chapelle, the German Aachen, shrouded in memories which went back to the Middle Ages, when German emperors were crowned in its famous cathedral and buried in full regalia in its deep vaults. The ashes of Charlemagne, so tradition said, lay under

foot. This brilliant gathering was attended by royalty. The crowned heads of Russia, Austria, and Prussia with their entourage were present; the kings of Great Britain and France were represented by their ministers. These three monarchs had no mandate from their people, acknowledged no obligations to their people, sustained no intimate contact with their people. They were bound together by one of the most extraordinary alliances in all history—the Holy Alliance which had emanated from the strange mind of Czar Alexander I of Russia. The unctuous phrases of the pious document which the impressionable Czar had offered to his fellow monarchs of Austria and Prussia might mean much or little. Metternich, prime minister of Austria, declared the proffered alliance a sonorous nothing; the English premier referred to it as a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense. Its significance in history lies in its name which was soon applied to the combination of the five great powers that met at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The presiding genius of this European congress—the dominating figure of Europe, indeed, for full thirty years—was Prince Metternich. He was the living embodiment of that repressive spirit which seized the minds of reactionary rulers after the fall of Napoleon. He hated the French Revolution with perfect hatred. To his mind the revolutionary spirit was a disease which must be cured; a gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron. He abhorred parliaments and popular representative institutions. He represented perfectly the reactionary spirit of his liege sovereign who declared the whole world mad because it wanted new constitutions and who crushed remorselessly every trace of liberalism in his Austrian domains. Playing upon this common fear of revolution and this common hatred of popular sovereignty, Metternich bound the five great powers to a policy of repose, of political immobility, over against the propaganda of liberals throughout Europe. In case of further revolution in France—that storm-center of popular unrest—they were to unite to suppress it. By further congresses steps would be taken to cure the malady of revolution wherever it might break out. The year 1818 marks the beginning of that repressive policy which

sounded the death-knell of popular government in the Old World for a generation.

While this famous congress of monarch-by-divine-right was setting the face of Europe against the mad doctrinaires who talked of constitutional government, our plain, sombre-clad congressmen on the banks of the Potomac were quietly and as a matter of course giving their approval to a constitution drafted by inhabitants of a distant territory where the native redman still roamed and where primeval forests and prairies still awed men by their great brooding silences. At the very time these self-appointed defenders of absolutism and the peace of Europe were leaving Aix-la-Chapelle, our national House of Representatives was voting to receive Illinois into the American Union on an equal footing with the thirteen original states.

In this contrast I find the fundamental reason for America's participation in the Great World War! And now once again, one hundred years after Aix-la-Chapelle, irresponsible government has thrown down the gage of battle, and American democracy has accepted the challenge!

I have mentioned Great Britain among the five powers who followed the lead of Prince Metternich. This is not the time or place to explain the circumstances that made contemporary England also reactionary. Enough that even the Mother of Parliaments had lost its true representative character. Many an Englishman felt that he was losing his political birthright under the heavy, repressive hand of the Tory squirearchy. Much as he might mistrust the firebrands of liberalism in Europe, he had no heart for a policy which denied to a nation the right to choose its own political institutions. And it was the silent, indirect pressure of such Englishmen that eventually forced the British government to protest against Metternich's doctrine of intervention. Eventually, too, liberalism broke through the tough crust of British conservatism and achieved the reform of Parliament.

It was in these days of the un-reformed Parliament, when representative government had become a farce, when the common man who did not possess a freehold worth forty shillings a year found himself a mere tax-payer without a vote, when a land-

owning squirearchy monopolized political office and tabooed reforms, that English yeomen farmers cast wistful glances overseas. Held fast between the insolence of wealth on the one hand and the servility of pauperism on the other, they could see no prospect of relief in Merrie England. There was only hollow mockery in the name.

Happily we are not without direct personal records of these Englishmen who came to America on their own initiative or that of their fellow farmers and mechanics. As they made their way over the Alleghanies to the prairie country, they found America in incessant motion. "Old America," wrote Morris Birkbeck, one of these plain English farmers, "seems to be breaking up and moving westward." He was a correct observer. America was on wheels or on horseback. Conditions somewhat like those in Old England were driving New Englanders and Virginians and Pennsylvanians in a veritable human tide into the valley of the Ohio. The Commonwealth of Illinois was born in the midst of this swirling emigration.

It has been the fashion of historians to ascribe this rapid westward movement to the lure of free lands. A fundamental instinct, no doubt, this passion for virgin soil that one may call his own. The pioneer who in his own clearing between the stumps of trees felled by his own hand, planted Indian corn in the deep rich—illimitable rich—black loam, was obsessed by one of the deepest of human emotions. This soil and the produce thereof was his—his! His sense of individual property became acute. Like Anteus of Greek mythology his contact with the soil increased his might. His manhood leaped to its full height as he brought acre after acre under cultivation.

Yet other motives for the crossing of the Alleghanies played no mean part. Man does not live by bread alone. Birkbeck confessed to a strong desire to better his material fortunes—to "obtain in the decline of life an exemption from wearisome solicitude about pecuniary affairs;" but he desired even more for himself and his children membership in a democratic community free from the insolence of wealth. That is a recurring note in the history of American expansion—a note that vibrates as passion-

ately as lust for land. Deep-seated in the breast of every man whom the conventions of an older society have barred from recognition is the sense of outraged manhood—rebellion against the artificial restrictions of birth, family, and inherited wealth. It is this eternal protest of human nature against man-made distinctions of class that has driven thousands of souls into the wilderness. That self-assertive spirit of the Westerner which at times breaks rudely in upon the urbane life of older communities is his protest against conditions from which—Thank God!—he has escaped. Your Westerner of the twenties and thirties of the last century, your Westerner who hurrahed for Andrew Jackson and bore him triumphantly into the White House, was asserting his native manhood. He was the living embodiment of Carlyle's Everlasting No.

It is interesting to observe the subtle influence of American conditions on this English farmer whom we have chosen to follow to the territory of Illinois. The spirit of optimism radiates from his journal—an optimism that made him an inaccurate observer at times; but the worth of his observations is less important just here than this objective impression of his inner mind. It is as though a weight were rolling off his heart. He breathes great drafts of prairie air, stands more erect, allows his eye to range over the prairies, and yields unconsciously to that sense of distance and space which has widened imperceptibly the mental horizon of three generations of Illinoisans.

I find my thought projecting itself forward fifteen years and my eye catches sight of a true son of Illinois who came from the cramped valleys of Vermont to the broad prairies of the Northwest, and who testified to his own mental growth by the not very gracious remark that Vermont was a good state to be born in provided you migrated early!

What charmed this transplanted English farmer was "the genuine warmth of friendly feeling" in the communities through which he passed—a disposition to promote the happiness of each other. These people have rude passions, he admits. "This is the real world and no political Arcadia." But "they have fellow-feeling in hope and fear, in difficulty and success." After a few

months on the prairies of Eastern Illinois he feels himself an American. "I love this government," he exclaims; "and thus a novel sensation is excited: it is like the development of a new faculty. I am become a patriot in my old age."

And what was this government which he held in such affection? He does not name it but he describes it in unmistakable terms. "Here, every citizen, whether by birthright or adoption is part of the government, identified with it, not *virtually*, but in fact." This was American Democracy!

Not all the States of the American Union at this time were democratically organized. A few—a very few—were born democracies; some achieved democratic institutions; and some had democratic government thrust upon them. It is one of those pleasing illusions which patriotic societies like to indulge and which are perpetuated by loose thinking, that democracy was brought full-fledged to America by the Puritan fathers. Nothing could be further from the truth! Let us face the historic facts frankly and fearlessly. Men of the type of John Winthrop did not believe in social or political equality. They would have stood aghast at the suggestion that every male adult should have a voice in the government which they set up on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. They shrank from those levelling ideas which radicals were preaching in Old England. There was little in colonial New England that suggested social equality. Men and women dressed according to their rank and station in life. Class conventions were everywhere observed. Public inns reserved parlors for the colonial gentry; trades people went to the tap-room or the kitchen for entertainment. All souls might be equal in the sight of God; but one's seat in church, nevertheless, corresponded to one's social rank. Learning might be open to all classes of men; but the catalogue of Harvard College in the 17th century listed the names of students not alphabetically but according to social standing.

So feeling and thinking these Puritan patricians of the Massachusetts Bay Colony indulged in no foolish dreams of democracy. Almost their first precaution was to raise bulwarks against the unstable conduct of the ungodly. At first only church mem-

bers were allowed to become freemen in the colony. Only godly men of good conversation should be intrusted with the choice of magistrates. And when this policy of rigid exclusion broke down under assaults from the home government, property qualifications were established as in the rest of the straggling English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard.

When the American colonies declared their independence there was not one which did not restrict the right to vote to male adults who were property-holders or holders of estates. The usual qualification was the possession of a freehold worth or renting at fifty pounds annually, or the ownership of fifty acres. Under these restrictions probably not more than one man in every five or six had the right to vote. If democratic government means the rule of the majority, then these thirteen colonies were hardly more democratic than Prussia in this year of grace 1918!

In framing constitutions for the states in the course of the Revolution, the fathers followed habit and precedent. They betrayed little or no concern for the unpropertied or landless man. They followed the universal rule that those only were entitled to vote for magistrates who showed evidence of "attachment to the community." And evidence of such attachment consisted in the possession of property—preferably landed property. Said that typical American of his age, Benjamin Franklin, "As to those who have no landed property * * * the allowing them to vote for legislators is an impropriety." Alexander Hamilton voiced a still stronger feeling when he contended that those who held no property could not properly be regarded as having wills of their own.

I do not know how I can better illustrate the tenacity of these political ideas of the Fathers than by alluding to a memorable constitutional convention held in the State of New York in the year 1821. Constitutional conventions are milestones on the road to American democracy. In the deliberations of these bodies are reflected the notions that flit through the minds of ordinary citizens. Progress and reaction meet on the floors of these conventions.

It is the 22d of September, 1821. The subject under discussion is the elective franchise. It is proposed that the old property qualifications shall still hold in elections to the State Senate. James Kent, Chancellor of the State of New York, is speaking—a learned jurist and an admirable character. There is deep emotion in his voice. The proposal to annihilate all these property qualifications at one stroke, and to bow before the idol of universal suffrage, strikes him with dismay. "That extreme democratic principle wherever tried has terminated disastrously. Dare we flatter ourselves that we are a peculiar people, exempt from the passions which have disturbed and corrupted the rest of mankind? The notion that every man who works a day on the road or serves an idle hour in the militia is entitled of right to an equal participation in the government is most unreasonable and has no foundation in justice. Society is an association for the protection of property as well as life, and the individual who contributes only one cent to the common stock ought not to have the same power and influence in directing the property concerns of the partnership as he who contributes his thousands."

Of this notable speech, another member of the convention remarked that it would serve admirably as an elegant epitaph for the old Constitution when it should be no more. He was right. Chancellor Kent was facing backwards—addressing a vanishing age. And yet he was no mere querulous reactionary but fairly representative of a large class of men whose reverence for tradition was stronger than their faith in democracy. At this very time in another constitutional convention, young Daniel Webster was defending the property qualification in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the constitution which your fathers drafted one hundred years ago is a significant milestone in our march toward democracy. On this frontier of the Old Northwest was born that spirit of self-confidence and self-help which has made the people of the great Middle West an incalculable power in the national life. It was as inevitable as breathing that these pioneer farmers should express this spirit in political institutions.

With firm bold characters they wrote unhesitatingly into the Constitution of 1818 these words:

"In all elections, all white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the State six months next preceding the election shall enjoy the right of an elector."

I shall not pause here to question the wisdom of permitting even alien inhabitants to vote, nor to point out in detail why the convention of 1848 withdrew the privilege. It may well have been certain experiences in the old Third Congressional District which tempered the democratic ardor of the constitution-makers. When an aspirant for congressional honors could vote *en bloc* hundreds of stalwart canal-diggers, fresh from Erin's Isle, it was well, perhaps, to call a halt. These laborers had in them, no doubt, the making of good citizens; but a residence of a few weeks even in Illinois could not educate an untutored mind to the point where he could make the necessary distinction between an election and a Donnybrook Fair.

It is quite unnecessary, too, to remind this audience that suffrage has long since ceased to be restricted to whites. It is certainly the part of discretion, if not of valor, at this time, to refrain also from discussing the latest extension of the suffrage. I hazard only the prediction that the same democratic forces will ultimately give women the ballot when they demand it. There is an insistent force in this movement of the century which sweeps away all considerations of prudence and expediency. But I have no desire to handle live wires.

Let me confine my remarks to the far-reaching historical importance of the adoption of male adult suffrage by Illinois and her sister States of the Northwest. The reaction of West upon East has too often been overlooked by American historians. Not all good things follow the sun in his course. Political reactions are subtle and can often be felt more easily than they can be demonstrated. Yet there can be no doubt that it was the theory and practice of manhood suffrage in the new states which led the older Eastern States one by one to abandon their restrictions.

It was the new State of Maine, itself the frontier of Massachusetts, that led the way. It is no mere accident, I think, that Maine is also the first of the New England States to try out the initiative and referendum. This democratization of the East was a slow process. The nineteenth century was nearly spent before the conservatives abandoned their last stronghold.

Meantime revolution had broken out for the third time in central and western Europe. The system of Metternich had been shattered; the repose of Europe rudely shaken. For a time it seemed as though even Germany would yield to the assaults of liberals and nationals. Unification and constitutional government seemed within reach in 1848. I may not dwell upon these days of storm and stress, of shattered illusions and futile dreams. Suffice it to say that reactionary forces triumphed, and forced many a stalwart soul to turn his back upon the Fatherland. It was these exiled liberals, these "Forty-eighters" who came to the prairies of Illinois and the Middle West and made common cause with their brethren in the struggle for human liberty. In these times of storm and stress we do well to remember that these German exiles became bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh—laying down their lives for their adopted land when the hour of destiny struck.

Slavery had already driven a sharp wedge into American democracy. Something besides the freedom of the negroes was at stake. Men were asking searching questions. Could a society that harbored slaves be truly democratic? Could a nation which permitted a minority to dictate foreign and domestic policies be termed democratic? Could a people consent to refrain from talking about a moral issue at the dictation of slave-interests and still remain true to democratic traditions? Must a democratic people refrain from putting barriers in the way of the extension of slavery because a minority held slavery a necessary and blessed institution?

Two stalwart sons of Illinois returned answers to these questions—answers that were heard and pondered throughout the length and breadth of the continent. Men then found these answers contradictory and debated them with partisanship and

passion but we may rise above the immediate issue and discern the essential agreement between these two great adversaries. When Stephen A. Douglas asserted that no matter how the Supreme Court should decide, the people of a territory could still permit or forbid slavery by local legislation, he was enunciating bad law, it is true, but a principle thoroughly in accord with American practice nevertheless. His great opponent never challenged the general democratic right of a people to self-determination; nor did he deny that, irrespective of law, the people of a territory would in fact obey American traditions and decide questions of local concern through a public opinion that has more than once in frontier history ignored distant law-makers.

When Abraham Lincoln stated the nature of the irrepressible conflict within the Republic by declaring that the Union could not exist half-slave and half-free, he registered his conviction as a great democrat, that no minority can be suffered indefinitely to force its will on the majority when a question of moral right is involved.

And finally, when Lincoln declared that the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott could not stand as law, he was speaking as a prophet, not as a lawyer. In effect, he was asserting that no minority may seek shelter behind the dead hand of legal formalism when the moral sense of the living majority is outraged thereby. Even courts and legal precedents must eventually yield to an enlightened public will.

These passionate days of the late fifties followed by four tragic years of civil war stripped the halo from democracy. It was seen that it was no panacea for all human woes; and that existing American democracy was not the perfect goal of political development. During reconstruction our eyes were opened to the perversions of democracy. We saw crimes perpetrated in the name of democracy. We saw stealthy hands thrust into our public treasuries; we saw mysterious interests interposed between the people and their government; we saw—in a word—government slipping away from the people either through the ignorance or incompetence or connivance of their chosen representatives. Democracy has

come to seem to many men less an achievement than a hope, a dream, a promise to be fulfilled.

Dante compared the restless Italian cities of his day, with their incessant party struggles and changing governments, to sick men tossing with fever on their beds of pain. There is a similar instability in our American life which seems to many learned doctors a symptom of disease in the body politic. The state of Oregon experiments with direct legislation; Arizona with the recall; Illinois has had some experience with proportional representation; every state has tried its hand at reform of nominating machinery and regulation of party organization; municipalities have set up governments by commission only to abandon them for city managers; Kansas has even considered commission government for the state.

To my mind this experimentation is a sign of health not disease. It is of the very essence of progress that human institutions should change. Distrust that state which rests content with its achievements. Dry rot has already set in. These restless movements in American states and cities are attempts to adjust democratic political institutions to new economic conditions. The machinery of government was perfectly adapted to society in Illinois when it entered upon Statehood one hundred years ago, because society was almost Arcadian in its simplicity. Substantial social equality prevailed under rural conditions. Government was inevitably democratic. But this great Commonwealth has long since lost its Arcadian simplicity. It is a highly organized industrial community. Society is classified and stratified. Governmental institutions designed for another and different society must be readjusted to the needs of modern life. Yet the essential basis of democracy need not be changed and will not be changed.

In these days of carnage and unutterable human woe, when democracy suffers by comparison with autocracy in efficient ways of waging war, I detect here and there, as I am sure you do, a note of distrust, even covert sneers at the words of our chosen leader that the world must be made safe for democracy. Ladies and gentlemen, there are other tests of democracy than mere efficiency. I am prepared to concede—though the statement has been

challenged—that German municipalities are better administered than American cities; that their streets are cleaner; that their police regulations are more efficient; that their conservation of natural resources is more far-sighted. What I cannot concede is that an autocratic government, however efficient, can in the long run serve the best interests of the people. Autocratic government does not develop self-help in its subjects. It enslaves. It robs manhood of its power of self-assertion. It denies opportunity to struggling talent. It makes subjects; it does not make citizens of a commonwealth. The impotency of the German minority which hates Prussian Junkerdom is the price which the German nation is now paying for efficient but autocratic government.

There are two tests which every government must sustain, if it is not to perish from the earth. It must not only serve the material and moral welfare of its citizenry; it must also enlist their active support. It is not enough that democratic government should promote public contentment. It must also cultivate those moral virtues of self-restraint and self-sacrifice without which enduring progress cannot be made. Citizenship in a democracy cannot remain a negative and passive privilege to be enjoyed; it must be an active force for righteousness. And the ultimate test of the quality of citizenship in a democracy is the leaders which it produces. A brilliant Frenchman has applied this test. Surveying democracies the world over with a somewhat jaundiced eye, he has found everywhere only the cult of incompetence. I do not so read the history of American democracy. I do not find "Right forever on the scaffold and Wrong forever on the throne." Incompetence has often been enthroned it is true; mediocrity has often been rewarded; but in great crises the choice of the people has been unerring. Should we not judge democracy by its most exalted moments as well as by its most shameful? Our famous warriors have been idolized for a time; our merchant princes and captains of industry have been admired for their cleverness; our orators and politicians have had their little day. We put them in our Halls of Fame; but we withhold our reverence to bestow it upon our Washington and Lincoln. There is something chal-

lenging, thought-arresting, awe-inspiring, in the emergence of Abraham Lincoln as a national hero. Here was a man who described his early life in the words of the poet Gray—"the short and simple annals of the poor;" who grew up in your midst, a man among men; who entered the White House misunderstood, and derided as a "Simple Susan;" yet who became the leader of the nation in its greatest crisis. You do not honor him because of his intellectual qualities alone. You reverence his memory because he embodied the moral aspirations of American democracy. Abraham Lincoln was the greatest contribution of Illinois to the democratic movement of the century.

INDIANA'S INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF ILLINOIS

CHARLES W. MOORES

The chief event in human history was when the Creator "caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam and took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof, and the rib which the Lord had taken from man" while he was still asleep "made he a woman." We are commemorating a similar event a hundred and nine years ago, for when Illinois was taken out of the side of Indiana, some reluctance might have been shown but for the "deep sleep" that made the operation possible. Indiana gave to America, as was given to humanity in that primeval creative act, what has proved to be gentle and sweet and strong, the queenly guardian of the Great Lakes and of the Father of Waters.

Our loss would not have been so grave if we would have had the benefit of the first survey which is said to have run the State line west of Chicago instead of to its eastern borders, and Illinois would have been but little better than any other interior state if your northern boundary had remained at the south end of Lake Michigan. It is too late now for either Michigan territory or Wisconsin or Indiana to claim Chicago, for most of Wisconsin's and Michigan's business men, and many of Indiana's authors and artists have become loyal citizens of the Windy City, and we can not call them back.

You centenarians of Illinois may not claim all the credit for your hundred years of Statehood, for Indiana has a right to be proud that it gave Illinois to the world and we are proud with that same splendid pride which in this year of war hangs its star upon the outer wall to attest that a million homes in America are ready to lay "their costly sacrifice upon the altar of Freedom." And so Indiana has the pride of parenthood. When a boy does a thing well, *he* may not boast, but no one can blame the mother who glorifies him. As will appear before Indiana's greeting to Illinois is over, our claim does not end with having brought Illinois into being, but we shall hope to prove that much of what your State has done for civilization must be credited to the neighbor state upon your eastern border.

Only an expert could distinguish between Arizona and New Mexico, or between North Dakota and South Dakota. "It is hard to draw the line" as the boy said when he found he had a whale on the book. Discriminating observers can not tell one Chinaman from another. A new state, just emancipated from the chrysalis period, whose leaders have come from beyond her borders, and, who, because she has had no great experiences in sacrifice and service, no crisis to face, and no sorrow to bear or to recall, has not yet developed personality.

Three thousand miles away is a little state whose Gethsemane and Calvary have given her an immortal soul—a personality—in whose presence the nations of earth stand with head bared. Within her borders, for a season, are encamped an infidel horde who deny the god Terminus to whom all civilized people bow down, a horde who can not respect a nation's personality because, in their gross materialism, they deny the existence of whatever is born of the imagination or of the spirit.

The essential differences between Illinois and Indiana are not superficially evident. You recall the discussion of this question between the heroes of Mississippi Valley fiction, Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. They were journeying by balloon from Missouri to the Atlantic seaboard and Huckleberry Finn was not convinced that they had crossed the boundary between your State and mine. As they looked down upon your prairies they had seen the

same rich green that their geography maps had given to the State of Illinois, but beyond the banks of the Wabash the wooded hills and rich bottom lands of Indiana were just as green, and Huckleberry Finn, who remembered that on his map Indiana was pink, lost his faith in all geographers and mapmakers and became a sceptic. Huckleberry Finn was only a superficial observer or intuition would have told him when he crossed the line.

Indiana's Centennial Year, 1916, was a year of self-dedication to patriotism. As we looked back over a hundred years of serene growth we neighbors on your eastern border came into a new state consciousness. We learned the inadequacy of Chief Justice Chase's definition of a state, for we knew that Indiana had come to be more than "a political community of individuals inhabiting the same country," more than "the country or region thus inhabited," more than "the government under which the people lived," more even than "the combined idea of people, territory, and government." We were not merely a bit of land staked out for separate sovereignty, not a political fraction—one forty-eighth of a great nation—holding its attributes in common with forty-seven other varieties of political or territorial entities, nor as Huckleberry Finn viewed it, an irregular splotch of pink on some great map.

It was a year that marked our emergence into soul-consciousness, when we came to know by insight that Indiana had personality, and that its people read their books, thought their thoughts, and worked out their destiny along distinctive lines, and was different because her pioneers and her later leaders had given to the slowly developing state a character "with a difference"—a personality.

For more than a generation, perhaps, after statehood was given us, we, like you of Illinois, were actually only an arbitrary sub-division of that splendid empire which the fathers had dedicated to liberty—the old Northwest Territory. It was not until Abraham Lincoln, trained among the Indiana hills and matured on the Illinois prairies, called America to the colors that the soul of your State and the soul of Indiana awoke to conscious life.

There are those who believe that when the pioneer left New England to find a home in the wilderness of our middle west and

when the Forty-niner crossed the "great American dessert" in search of gold the last adventure of history was over.

The pioneer who came to this Northwest Territory and penetrated the wilderness in search of an empire where he must obey the law of the jungle until in time he could make laws of his own, found the great adventure in this heart of America a hundred years ago.

In some far away eternity the great adventurers will get together and talk over their earthly experiences. Hercules, Ulysses, Abraham, Moses, Jonah, Joan of Arc, Columbus, Balboa, Miles Standish, George Rogers Clark, Robert Falcon Scott will each have his story to tell. And a great story hour it will be.

I could be content to sit in the midst of a little group of men no less heroic and listen to the story of the Wabash Valley jungle of a century ago. In that group would be George Rogers Clark, Pierre Gibault, Francis Vigo, Arthur St. Clair, and William Henry Harrison, the great men of our territorial period. But until the history of the people of the Northwest is written, America will not know what heroes we had a hundred years ago.

The pilgrim father who crossed the wintry sea and began his life of religious liberty in the snows of Massachusetts was no braver than his pioneer descendant who came from the civilized East two centuries later to find a home in the wilderness of Indiana, and the measureless prairies of Illinois. Across the Alleghany mountains his journey into the West lay along streams where treacherous Indians waited for him all the way. But the savage was the least of the dangers he had to face. When he entered the forest, bears and wildcats were in his way. About his new home wild creatures watched for his stock, and waited to devour his crops. More to be feared than any living animal was the peril of disease that threatened him until the lands could be drained and intelligent physicians be found for every neighborhood. Malaria was universal and there were not enough well people to feed and nurse the sick. Fever and ague made steady work impossible and life a torment.

The twentieth century traveler finds it hard to picture that wilderness to himself. As we ride by railway and over paved

highways we forget that the pioneer had to build his wagon roads and bridle paths through dense woods, and that for forty years land travel was through bottomless prairie mud or among stumps and fallen timber cleared with the ax. And ever in the half-darkness of the woods was the unspeakable terror of the savage in hiding behind some tree, ready to kill.

There were children in the wilderness who shared the father's dangers and comforted the mother's loneliness. Little thumb-nails sketches of the boys and girls appear in the histories of that earlier day. We read of little J. G. Finch going out from Connersville with his father's cavalcade to make the first settlement on White River above Indianapolis. He was nine years old. "It was snowing hard and the men of the company made their way very slowly with their ox team, driving stock before them and cutting the road as they went. I got to crying and they came back to see what was the matter. I told them I was so cold that my back was cracked." And there are the children on the way to the log school who were stolen by the savages or killed in cold blood in the somber shadows of the woods.

And there is that other nine-year-old Hoosier, the very mention of whose name gives us a grip in the throat and a tightening about the heart; we recall how death entered the lonely cabin and the boy who dreamed, fearing lest the mother's burial should go unremembered of God, sent beyond the Ohio to the Kentucky circuit rider to pray over the grave of Nancy Hanks. There is no story of Indiana that can leave out the tragic picture of the Hoosier boy standing un comforted beside the grave of a pioneer mother.

Life was as much of an adventure to the circuit rider who saved the souls of pioneers as if it had been given over to the conquest of the jungle or the killing of the Indian. The arena of the human soul was to him as theatric a place as the coliseum was when the Christian martyr went down to death. Hell was as genuine a terror as malaria and as near at hand, while the mysteries of faith were as plain as the simplest things of life.

The Methodist way of conversation was not always gentle. A story is told of Reverend James Jones, who in 1820 was conducting a camp meeting in the Whitewater country. A woman

who had just been converted was dragged from the altar by an angry husband. Mr. Jones remonstrated in vain and finally seized the man, forced him to the ground, and seating himself on the man's back, refused to let him go till he prayed. The victim swore. The wife and other believers prayed aloud, and Brother Jones still held his man fast. As he prayed he felt the man's muscles relax and recognized other signs of the coming victory. Soon the man began to weep and cry aloud, "God be merciful to me a sinner!" The shout of victory came and the man's soul was saved.

Father Dickey, one of the first of the Indiana Presbyterians, supported a family on an annual income of \$80, including gifts. He helped by farming, teaching singing classes, writing legal papers, surveying, shoe-making, and conducting school. His house was a log cabin, with greased paper instead of window glass. His wife looked after her eleven children, managed the entire household, made garments for the family, and entertained numberless visitors.

It is good to remind ourselves that back in the twenties and thirties, benevolent folk in the least were as generous in sending the gospel and civilization to us of the west, as we of the later generation have been to darkest Africa, or may yet be to pagan Germany.

In the files of the Gazette, published at the old capitol, Corydon, in January, 1819, when Indiana was three years old, the first announcement reads:

"The Reverend Mr. Rogers, missionary to the state of Indiana, will preach tonight at candle light at the Court House."

The pioneer was a failure as a publicity man. Even George Rogers Clark, the most romantic figure in American history, failed to make good when it came to advertising his exploits. Recall how he took Kaskaskia and won command of the Mississippi Valley without firing a shot. He had left his little fleet near the mouth of the Ohio and tramped for a week with a hundred and seventy volunteers through mire and flood. As they came to Kaskasia, England's stronghold on the Mississippi, the sturdy Americans hid until midnight, and then slipped into the fort and took the

commandant by surprise. George Rogers Clark wrote the story out in full in his report to Virginia's Governor, and this is what he said: "I broke into the fort and secured the Governor." That is the complete official account of one of the most romantic events in American history.

Did the day of adventure end when the pioneer moved no longer toward the West? We know it did not. We still thrill to the scream of the bugle and our eye still dims with tears when of a sudden we see the flag. The pioneer spirit remains.

You who are old enough to have seen history in the making remember how the sons and grandsons of the pioneer sprang to the colors when Sumter was assailed and "thronged the way of death as to a festival." Today their grandsons are answering America's call and once more the road of righteousness is the road of death. In every crisis it is the blood of the pioneer that answers first to the call of civilization. And we of Illinois and Indiana may thank God that ours is the blood of the pioneers who conquered the wilderness and won the west for America and American ideals.

Before Clark ventured into our Northwest there were perhaps seven hundred white men in the Illinois country. An early chronicler gives this figure for the year 1766 and explains that "the number of inhabitants at the Illinois is very difficult to ascertain as they are going and coming constantly."

Last week at State and Washington streets in Chicago I noted the same characteristic persisting after a century and a half.

When Illinois was a part of Indiana territory there was little community of interest between the Illinois settlers and their eastern neighbors. Our common capital, Vincennes, was as inaccessible to the people who lived along the Mississippi River and had to cross prairies that were sunbaked in summer and flooded in winter, as it was to the men of Indiana who blazed their way thither through the almost trackless forest wilderness.

The Illinois leaders cherished the promise of early independence that was to come with increased immigration, and their strong leanings toward slavery with which the masses in Indiana had no sympathy, encouraged Illinois in its aspirations toward an

independent territorial government. The slavery struggle bulked large in territorial politics, the leaders in your state, Governor Bond and Senator Thomas, doing their utmost to force slavery upon Illinois as Governor Harrison would fain have done in Indiana but for the free soil influences led by Indiana's first Governor, Jonathan Jennings.

Strong counter-influences were at work among the people in both territories and Jefferson's secret anti-slavery missionary, James Lemen, employed energies and resources that were unsuspected in that day to save both states for freedom.

In due time your pro-slavery leaders became less open in their support of a cause that was steadily losing popular favor. The main route of migration, down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, brought into Illinois many from Kentucky and Missouri who saw in the richness of your meadows a golden harvest for slave labor. But the current of migration from Kentucky brought not a few free soilers, while Indiana and, through her, Ohio and Pennsylvania and New York, sent their steady stream of flat boats down the Ohio and up the Wabash and no less constant a caravan of prairie schooners over the slowly opening highways and these liberty-loving pioneers held your state loyally to the pledge of the Ordinance of 1787 and made it in due time the fit forum for the great debate that on your soil was to arouse the sleeping conscience of the nation and make it ready for Appomattox and an effective emancipation. Illinois extended southward into the heart of the slave country and people in every community in the southern part of the state had a natural sympathy for the material interests of the homes from which they had come, so that in Illinois the battle for freedom was more fiercely fought than in more austere Indiana.

We are wont to imagine that the slavery question was dormant in these two states from their territorial beginnings until the compromise of 1850. The truth is that the slavery question never slept. The St. Clair County resolutions of 1823 drafted, no doubt, by James Lemen, himself, read like the argument of Abraham Lincoln in 1858, as a single sentence will show:

"Confine slavery within limited boundaries and necessity, that great law of nature, would devise measures gradually to emancipate and effectually to discharge from the country that portion of the population;extend it abroad and you give scope for the unlimited increase of slaves in the Union."

The only political issue in Indiana in 1816 and in Illinois two years later was slavery and the struggle between its advocates and its enemies in the making of your Constitution and of ours was as bitter as it was in 1858 when "the house divided" seemed to be tottering to its fall and the men of Illinois had to choose leaders between the pro-slavery Vermonter and the anti-slavery Kentuckian.

The years of compromise had to end and the vain endeavor to persuade an awaking public conscience that the right to earn one's bread by another's labor was merely an economic question, failed at last. You furnished the forum for the final discussion of this great moral question and it naturally fell to you to furnish the leader who should put the question at rest for all time.

I would not withhold any credit from Illinois for having furnished the forum for the great debate. It was a natural development from the conditions that arose out of the character of your pioneers. The issue could not have come up in any other state, for nowhere else was the division so naturally, so honestly, or so completely, drawn as in Illinois in 1858, when Stephen A. Douglas waged a patriot's fight for further compromise and for peace against the resistless power of Lincoln's appeal to conscience and right. Had Douglas been less of a patriot than he was, or had he fought for a baser ideal than the prevention of disunion by compromise and adjustment, in other words, had he been merely a selfish politician as many superficial and partisan students of history declare him to have been, the debate would have been forgotten and there would not have emerged from it the one giant figure in American history. It was the greatness of both champions, Douglas and Lincoln, and the honesty of their purpose that made the debate what it was. And as I have said, it was the sincere difference of opinion among genuine patriots that gave to

Illinois the distinction of settling the slavery question on her own soil.

How far Illinois may claim credit for having given Abraham Lincoln to the world is purely an academic question. If we are to answer it, we must discover the sources of Lincoln's power. It is a matter of pure sentimental interest where a man was born, or what places afforded him his education, or his field of activity and achievement. The more practical problem in our study is how far the place of his birth, the place of his education, and the place of his achievement contributed to the making of the man.

There is nothing miraculous about Abraham Lincoln's growth in power. It was the most natural of processes. It will hardly be denied that he was a susceptible man—responding with singular sympathy to the influences that beset him. We are all familiar with his salient characteristics, chief among which it may be said that he was “the man who understood.” The expression of grave aloofness in those clear gray eyes vanished in a flash when the soul within answered the appeal of any kindred spirit, and there was instantly an understanding glance, a smile, and the intercommunication of soul with soul. The solitary mood, that was as likely to be manifest in a crowd as when no one was near by, vanished, and he became a man among men, yielding to the psychic force of the mind which had aroused his own. As he faced his audience of men who knew him—some devoted followers and quite as many the severest of critics—the face they looked into had none of the stolidity we see in so many of his photographs, but it was ablaze with the inner fire of human interest and alive with the thoughts that dominated him for the moment. The physiognomy of the man affords us the demonstration of my proposition, that his was a responsive nature, answering to the feeling of others as that of one who understood.

Mr. Herndon and some of his associates and biographers assure us that he was not influenced by the will or reason or appeal of others. I can not believe that this is so. He was firm, it is true, firm to the point of stubbornness, when he had satisfied himself that he had come to a right conclusion, but it was what

he termed "firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." All the way along from the beginning of the problem until his soul had found its answer he was in touch with the thought of others, hearing with patience the demands of would-be dictators, reasoning the question out with unreasonable critics, listening always to suggestions from all kinds of sources and trying, as he phrased it, to see if he could bring himself out on God's side. The progress toward the conclusion, lonely as it seemed, was nevertheless by way of constant contact with the thought of others and a complete understanding of their point of view and an ultimate recognition that the other man's point of view was always entitled to consideration.

If we grant this premise that what Lincoln came to be was the result of his understanding contact with all sorts of men, and his unusually sympathetic response to the influence of an extraordinary environment, it may be worth our while briefly to consider whether in pioneer Indiana in the years of his education and growth of body and spirit there came to him the power that he used so effectively in the maturer period that belongs to Illinois and in the four final years that belong to all the world.

The period of boyhood and adolescence is at least as significant in the making of character as is that of maturer manhood. A man does not wait until middle age before he chooses his ideals. He may not be conscious of the ferment within, but it is in boyhood that, consciously or unconsciously, ambitions begin to besiege his soul. The teachers who suggest new interests to him, the first books that absorb his thought, and even his dreams, the friends whose companionship enriches his life—all these influences are the molds within which his character expands and becomes fixed.

If we could call up before us the seven year old Kentucky boy, well-born for all the squalor that surrounded him, and watch his development until at twenty-one he led his father's ox-team to Illinois, the vision might diminish for us the mystery of Abraham Lincoln's power. Certainly we can not be content to say that Lincoln was an ignorant and vulgar politician all his life and, over night, as it were, became the first gentleman and the

polished orator of his century. Things do not happen so. Abraham Lincoln did not just happen. The developing of his greatness was not a forcing process that gave us a finished product in a single campaign or a year of presidential responsibility. It was a life-long growth, steady, constant, and slow, under influences that began in the Nolan's Creek region when the little child of five gave his catch of fish to a veteran of the Revolution because "Mother told him always to be kind to the soldier," and that continued through that first bitter winter in Indiana when he lay on the bed of leaves upon frozen earth in his father's half-faced camp listening to the howling wolves, and that later winter when the comrade-mother died. There were the seven mile walks through the wilderness to school, the thrilling adventure of his later boyhood upon the Mississippi flat boat ending with the hideous vision of the New Orleans slave market. There were the groups of men about the Gentryville store, men of vulgar speech no doubt, yet men whose idol was Andrew Jackson, themselves the Jackson type, who devoured the occasional newspaper as Abe Lincoln read it to them, and who talked religion, politics and slavery and told stories and made the big Lincoln boy one of their own circle.

School declamation, soap box speech making, good natured mimicry of itinerant preacher and temperance orator, and at last the printing of a school essay on temperance in a widely circulated newspaper, attendance at a sensational murder trial fourteen miles away at Boonville and the lonely dreary walk back and forth, the casual acquaintance there of a prominent lawyer who lent him the Indiana statutes that contained the Declaration of Independence and the Ordinance of 1787 with its bold commandment: "Thou shalt not keep thy fellow man in bondage"—did these experiences touch and change the growing boy? We do not need to turn to Dennis Hanks for confirmation of our conclusion. From what the man of Illinois was we know what the boy of Indiana must have been—a double nature, self-absorbed but not self-centered, thoughtful with a leaning toward philosophy, self-disciplining always, moody and often melancholy—one aspect—under-

standing the point of view of those about him and tolerant of dissent, responsive to the moods of others and quick to the point of eagerness to answer to their needs—the other aspect, he was:

“A blend of mirth and sadness, smiles and tears,
A quaint knight-errant of the pioneers.”

Lincoln is identified in the world's thought with the emancipation of the slave. What was used as a last desperate war measure by the patient president who was ready to try any remedy that measured up to his idea of right if only he could save the Union, was really the one thing by which he is remembered. The slavery question which opportunest politicians had avoided for half a century hoping that somehow it would solve itself entered into Lincoln's spiritual life at the very beginning and by slow degrees mastered it. It was to escape the competition of slave labor that Thomas Lincoln left Kentucky for a state dedicated to liberty.

The only book the boy Lincoln had was a life of Washington whose struggle to win liberty gripped his imagination. The two journeys to New Orleans at the most impressionable period of his young manhood; the visit to Kentucky in 1841 when he described the slaves “strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot line” to be taken to a land where the master's lash is proverbially ruthless and unrelenting; the slow awakening to a realization of his own opportunity and his own power to force an issue with Douglas which would settle the question; and at last his happiness in the knowledge that the Thirteenth Amendment had given to the slaves the freedom which his Emancipation Proclamation had promised them, constitute one story of the dominance of a single great idea. Can it be truly said that any local community determined the course of that man's life or made his greatness possible.

I am convinced that a special obligation rests upon your State at the time of its Centennial. This year, a State pride, which is really patriotism, has been inspired as you pause to look back upon a hundred years of service to humanity. To each loyal citizen of Illinois has come a new impulse that may well become a con-

secration of Illinois and all her citizenship to world service. You will not have accepted this opportunity for self dedication if you leave no permanent memorial to remind your children and your children's children, that Illinois remembers her pioneers and all who bore their part in her first one hundred years of life and keeps that remembrance sacred for coming generations.

You have great names on your roll of honor, more than could well be named in this address. What better service could you do now than give to each place identified with these men a tablet to attest that in the Centennial year they were not forgotten? For one of these who stand head and shoulders above them all, as he did when he walked the streets of Springfield, no monument is needed. And yet the places he haunted ought to be remembered. The road from Springfield to Petersburg, Peoria, Pekin, Lincoln, Clinton, and Danville, and so on around the old Eighth circuit, and many an old court house and tavern and homestead along that way will be associated always with that brilliant company of itinerant advocates, and particularly the country lawyer, Abraham Lincoln, while a number of places in Springfield are mutely eloquent reminder of his master personality. The rooms in the old Capitol where his immortal speeches were delivered, the site of Speed's store with its hospitable upper room, the offices of Stuart and Lincoln, Logan and Lincoln, and Lincoln and Herndon, the room where the First Inaugural was written, and the site of the "House Divided" speech; these should be marked while Lincoln's personal friends still live, and imperishable bronze should tell to generations yet unborn that Springfield remembers lovingly the places made sacred by his presence.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD

Editor Illinois Centennial History

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY: It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity to talk to you about the task

which the State of Illinois has placed upon me, the production of a Centennial history of the State. I am peculiarly glad to hear testimony concerning the progress of this work to you, fellow members of the Historical Society, for to you more than anyone else belongs the right of knowing what has been done and how; what the Centennial history is, and what it is not.

One might expect that the very name chosen for this work would indicate to every one its character, but from correspondence and conversation with many citizens of the State, it has been borne in upon me that the meaning of the title does not convey to everyone the same idea. It is true that everybody under the sun believes that he or she knows what the history is. And for that reason there have been many willing helpers in the production of the Centennial history, and many have been the suggestions that have reached your editor-in-chief. From these suggestions it is evident that many are expecting a cross between an encyclopedia and such a year book as the Chicago Daily News publishes, wherein the reader may expect to find a statement on every subject that touches Illinois and the names of all public officials from those who hold the important State offices down to the latest county commissioners, as well as a list of all the men's clubs and women's clubs, a list of all the labor unions and boy scouts, with a careful list in every case of the officers and in most cases their photographs.

Needless to say to an audience composed of the members of the Illinois State Historical Society, the Centennial history will not serve any such purpose. No organization, however, important, will be mentioned except in-so-far as it forms an illustration of an important development in our social history. There will not be, and cannot be from the very nature of the case, any listing of societies or organizations for the simple purpose of perpetuating the names of the officers.

Other correspondents, whose souls have been stimulated by reading local history, think of the Centennial history in terms of county histories; they look for a general history of the State, followed by histories of certain phases of State history, such as the history of medicine, the history of religion, the history of busi-

ness, the history of newspapers, and so forth ad infinitum, all this to be topped off by biographical sketches of important people who may be willing to spend fifty dollars to have their photographs turned into half-tones for illustrative material. Such a work would have been very easy to prepare and in some ways might have satisfied many people in the State better than the volumes which will be published next fall. But the Centennial history is as far removed from the average county history as can be well imagined in works that pretend to belong in the same field. There will be but very few illustrations, not more than four or five, in each volume. Some of these will be portraits, but only of men who have played a great part in building our State.

There will be no continuous history of various professions and businesses, although it is hoped that adequate treatment in the general narrative will be given to the various interests in which the people of Illinois are engaged.

Most of the suggestions which have come to your editor have emanated from men and women filled with that love and admiration of the past which makes to them the spot or object associated with bygone ages holy. Theirs is the spirit of the antiquarian; and they are expecting that the Centennial history will be a guide-book to Illinois antiquities, a kind of ennobled Baedeker, enshrining in print the spots which each community loves to point out to visitors as being of historic importance; yonder Indian mounds of Podunk center; the spring where Black Hawk used to camp; the block from which slaves used to be sold.

No suggestions has reached the editorial ears that equals in extravagance that of a recent convert to the importance of history. He was a French Creole of a neighboring state and was converted by a historian who was preaching to him the gospel of the preservation of past memories and old documents. The imagination of the Creole was aroused, and he gave ready agreement to the proposition; "For," he said, "the old people who remembered them are now dying out and the memory of the important events will soon be gone." He continued, "I am sure that there is no one living today who can confirm an event that was told me by my grandfather. Knowledge of the fact is lost to history. I remem-

ber well my grandfather telling me that when Father Gautier died and the people were assembled to pay honor to the pious priest who had served them so well, a star from heaven came down and stood above the parish house so long as the coffin remained therein and when the coffin was carried out the star returned to the firmament." What answer can you make to a mind like that?

Almost equally curious suggestions have come to me from people that were highly cultivated and in their own lines of work stood high in the opinion of their fellows. Such a man recently grew eloquent over the historic importance of his home town, hallowed by the memories of the fleeing Black Hawk and the tramp of the valorous militia men. He told me that in his own back yard he had found an army canteen of that far off period and that one day some men while plowing had dug up a hexagonal pistol which they had given to him. Waxing enthusiastic over these childhood memories, he advised me to go there and dig for mementoes of the past, for I would be sure to find rich treasure. Let me ask you, would a collection of a thousand of these guns borne by the Illinois militia or could a collection of all the scalps that were removed from both white and red skulls help to elucidate the events that occurred during the Black Hawk War! The Centennial history, fellow members of the Illinois State Historical Society, is not to be a glorified guide book to historic Illinois, nor an apotheosized handbook of Illinois antiquity. Any one expecting either of these equally desirable works is bound to be bitterly disappointed, for the authors of the Centennial history have in no wise attempted their production.

So much for what the Centennial history is not. What, then, is the history? First of all, let me assure you that the very optimistic report in the newspapers of recent date, that the history was on the point of being ready for distribution is, to quote a well-remembered remark of Mark Twain's upon the report of his death, greatly exaggerated. It is true that one volume, the second, will come from the press all printed next month and the others will follow in as rapid succession as possible.

Knowing as you do that work has been going on in connection with the writing of these volumes for some three years, it

may be well to remind you that even when an author has once put down his story on paper, it does not at all mean that the book is ready to print. The first draft must be typed and collated, that is, compared with the original; it must be revised and cut down by the author, footnotes filled in, statement of facts checked, and then retyped for the editorial office. Here it has to go through a multiplicity of processes, reminding one of the operations through which a factory product must pass. First the editor reads it, recommending points to be revised by the author and modifying the English. The chapters are then turned over to an assistant who checks carefully the accuracy of each footnote reference, each quotation, each proper name. Then another assistant goes over the manuscript to see that capitalization, punctuation, and spelling are correct and in accordance with the set of rules worked out for the volumes. There is also a definite system for the citation of footnotes and for the bibliography, so that these things must be gone over very carefully to see that they conform. By this time so many changes have been made that it is necessary for a new copy to be typed for the printer; it goes without saying that it must again be collated. In a book of one hundred twenty-five thousand words these operations can naturally not be done in a day. The editor gives the manuscript a final reading before it goes to the printer; then the task of proof reading begins. Two sets of proof for every page of every book has to be very minutely read to see that the printer has printed what the author wrote and to correct any errors which may have escaped detection in the manuscript. Perhaps this sounds easy to those of you who have never tried it; if you have not gone through a similar experience, you can not dream of the knotty problems which can be involved in the placing of a mere comma; you do not know how many words look all right until you consult Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, when you find you don't know how to spell at all; you little guess how inconvenient it is that the English language has no logical system of capitalization. In spite of the great care exercised by each person who works over the manuscript, a new mistake is discovered with every reading; if

you are sharp-eyed, no doubt some of you will detect a few in the final printed copy.

With good luck, however, we are hoping that all five volumes will be ready for distribution some time next fall. If it so happens that this distribution coincides with the great celebration in October, we shall all be exceedingly happy. I may say here, to answer the question I am sure many of you are asking, that the Centennial history is to be published by the A. C. McClurg Company of Chicago and that it will be sold through the regular book market at two dollars a volume.

The authors of the Centennial history have attempted to give an interpretation of the development of the social, political and economic life of the people of the State of Illinois. Their final product might well have been called the history of the people of Illinois. There has been, therefore, an effort made to paint with the pen a succession of moving pictures from the time Illinois country was first traversed by the white men up till the present day. At every stage of our development sufficient information has been collected from various sources to give this picture of our changing civilization lifelike form.

It is a history of a state and not the history of the United States. Therefore we have made no attempt to tell the story of Illinois in terms of national history, but rather the story of Illinois as illustrative of the growth of a mid-western state. This means several important points of view to which I wish to call your attention. The wars in which Illinois has been engaged, for instance, as one of the states of the Union are important in state history; but this importance does not consist in the development of the war itself—I mean the war strategy and the campaigns—nor again in the engagement of Illinois troops in the war; the importance of wars to state history arises out of the social, economic, and political phenomena which the wars have produced within the boundaries of the State. Here then lies the problem of the historians, and it is to these phenomena rather than to the events outside of the State itself that the authors of the Centennial history have devoted their attention. The same attitude of mind must be assumed in the treatment of the activities of our

members of Congress. So far as they are engaged in the passage of national laws, they belong to national rather than state history; but when our representatives at Washington reflect the attitude of the State itself on important national issues, their activities become a part of the State personality and as such form a part of the picture of our past. For the same reason national politics can be neglected so far as they are extraneous to State affairs, but whenever the issues of national politics become vital in state history, then they fall within the treatment that the authors are giving.

For the purposes of this study, the authors have neglected consciously the writings of previous historians in-so-far as such writings were not considered as source material. We did not desire to allow our judgment to be biased by the prejudices of men who had preceded us in this field. We have therefore gone directly to what historians call source material, that is to say the contemporary documents made up of letters, legal documents, laws, and newspapers that have come to us directly from the period concerning which we were writing. The collection of this material has been laborious. I may illustrate from the experiences which I have had in the preparation of the first volume of the history that extends from 1673 down to 1818, the period of the Indian, the French, the British, and the American occupation. Covering this period there are thousands of printed pages of source material available. These had to be collected at the University of Illinois for my study. Besides these, however, there are in existence an equal number of unprinted materials scattered in archives all over the world, in London, in Paris, in Boston, and Worcester, Massachusetts, in Albany, in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in Washington, in Richmond, Virginia, and in Chester, Belleville, and Chicago, not to forget the numberless documents in the Draper Collection at Madison, Wisconsin. Thousands of pages of manuscript material have been collected for the purpose of interpreting Illinois' past. Take for instance the manuscript material in the archives in Paris which has been never used in its entirety by any historian of Illinois or even of the United States. The library of Congress had fortunately copied

some forty folio volumes of these manuscripts. The librarian has kindly loaned me these volumes, and copies have been made in my office of such of them as were needful for my purposes. But there are many more documents in Paris itself. Of these there is in existence a recently finished finding list which was put at my service; and the State of Illinois maintained a copyist with one assistant for about a year and a half in Paris doing nothing but copying for the purposes of this volume. What has been done in Paris has been done at other times in the other cities that I have named. The result is that no historian of Illinois has had collected at his disposal any such mass of source material as will be the basis for the interpretation of the early history of the State which is to appear in the Centennial history of Illinois.

Similar collecting has been done for the other volumes. You would be amazed at the amount of newspapers that have been examined by the authors. Loans have been made from libraries all over the State, from Joliet, from Springfield, from Belleville and many other places. The libraries of Chicago have been examined, photograph copies of early newspapers in the State have been made from the collections in the Library of Congress and from the Mercantile Library in St. Louis, so that there has been collected for the authors a better collection of our very early newspapers, of which there are only few copies in existence, than can be found in any library in the United States.

In addition to these old newspapers there were a large number of later files scattered around in various cities in the State which it was highly desirable to examine, yet which it was impossible for the authors to visit and inspect in person. How could these be made available? The problem was solved by arranging with the various newspaper officers and libraries to ship their papers, a few volumes at a time and in specially constructed boxes, to Urbana, where they were examined by the authors and by research assistants under their supervision. Passages which were wanted were marked, then typed, and the copies compared with the original for accuracy. Thus in two weeks time by this method, a group of newspapers could be examined which would have required a month or more, had each author undertaken to go from

place to place and take all his notes himself. Furthermore, there are now literally thousands of typed newspaper excerpts available for still further study and use.

Besides the collection of newspapers the authors have also examined with great care large masses of unpublished letters. Dr. Pease who is the author of the second volume, the Pioneer State, 1818-1848, has made an exhaustive study of the material to be found in the Chicago Historical Society and also in the Illinois Historical Survey of the University of Illinois and in the State Historical Library here in Springfield. Dr. Cole, the author of the third volume, The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870, spent several weeks in Washington, going over the collection of Trumbull papers never before used and other collections that are to be found in the Library of Congress. Professor C. M. Thompson who is half author with Professor Ernest L. Bogart of the fourth volume, The Industrial State, 1870-1893, has made great use of material collected from the descendants of men who acted during this period, besides using other well-known material.

The fifth volume, the Modern Commonwealth, 1893 to the present day, differs in its character from the other four. This is a period in which the actors are still living and when the events are so new that judgment can scarcely be passed upon them. It would therefore be a very doubtful policy to attempt to make an interpretation of these recent years, besides it was very essential for the history of the State that there should be a very complete description of the activity of the citizens of the State as they are exhibited in their agriculture, their manufacturing, their mining, their business in general, their government in all its ramifications, and their cultural development. The Centennial Commission therefore selected to write this volume an economic historian, Professor Bogart, and a political scientist, Professor J. M. Mathews, who have given us a description of the State as it exists today, and you will find therein a very complete analysis of present day conditions, and the best account of the Government of the State that has ever been written. Besides this Mr. Henry B. Fuller of Chicago has written two chapters on the cultural development of the State, one of these will appear in the fourth volume and the other in the fifth.

The secret of writing true history depends upon the collection of all the contemporary evidence bearing on the case. The reason that people complain of the changing interpretations of history is that new material is found, as society demands a broader and broader interpretation of the phenomena of the past. There was a time when history consisted in what we call today the drum and fife history; the doings of the great political leaders, events of military glory and almost no other phenomena of changing society were noted. Today the task of the historian however, is far greater; and he is obliged to cast his net far afield in order to collect the material for the social development of the past. The task of interpretation is made easier the more complete is the collection of source material, and it is this fact upon which the authors of the Centennial History particularly pride themselves.

An example of how easy it is to misinterpret a past event, provided all the material available is not collected, and how easy is that interpretation after the material has been found has come under my observation and will be embodied in the narrative of the first volume. About forty years ago Edward G. Mason, at that time secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, found the record book kept by the County Lieutenant, John Todd, in year 1779, when Todd came to govern the territory that had been occupied by George Rogers Clark and his Virginians during the Revolutionary War. In this record book Mason found the copy of a warrant for the death by burning at the stake of a negro, named Manuel, which burning was to take place after consolation to the criminal had been given by the parish priest. The copy of the warrant had been crossed out by drawing lines through it. Please bear this fact in mind, since it should have suggested a correct interpretation. Naturally this warrant aroused the imagination of Mr. Mason, and he began to search for an explanation and discovered that about this time there was an outbreak of voodooism among the Illinois slaves and that two slaves had been put to death. He drew the natural conclusion therefore that Manual had been burned at the stake for the practice of witchcraft. Basing his interpretation upon Mr. Mason's find, a well-known ex-President, who among other occupations has dabbled in history.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, wrote at some length upon this episode and drew a comparison between the eighteenth century Catholic Illinois where men were burned at the stake with the sanction of the parish priest and in accordance with French Catholic law for the practice of witchcraft, with a similar episode in the history of Puritan Massachusetts in the seventeenth century. Fortunately there has come into my hands a full record of the court's proceedings by which Manuel was condemned; and I find that the judges in the case, although they were obliged to listen to the superstitious accusations of negro slaves, were careful to determine the fact that Manuel and another negro had been the cause of the death of Mr. and Mrs. Nicolle by poisoning and that for this act they were condemned to death. I then looked up the law of the land. Naturally it might be supposed that this was French law, but there was another possibility, namely that Virginia law in criminal cases would be used by a Virginian magistrate, such as John Todd. I found that the Virginia law in the case of murder of a master by a slave was death by burning at the stake so that in the case of Manuel you see that the condemnation was strictly in accordance with Virginia law and not with French law. Another document of even greater interest in the case also came to my hands. It certainly was a surprise. This was another warrant for the death of Manuel, issued at a later hour in the day, but by this later warrant the death penalty was changed from burning at the stake to hanging by the neck. To summarize then: Manuel was not condemned for witchcraft but for murder; he was not condemned to be burned at the stake in accordance with French law, but in accordance with Virginia law; and finally he was not burned at the stake at all, but was hung by the neck. This is an excellent example of the danger of drawing inferences in regard to historic events upon too narrow information. There was one fact which both Mr. Mason and Mr. Roosevelt ignored in their interpretation of the warrant. The copy of the warrant was found in a carefully kept record book and was crossed out by lines being drawn through it. That fact should have made them suspicious of their own interpretation. Records such as this condemnation

to death would not be lightly erased by the keeper of a record book. An historical Sherlock Holmes would not have been misled.

Even if all the material which will illuminate the past has been collected there remain difficulties of interpretation. Naturally many past events can not be described because of the lack of space, and therefore there must be exercised a choice to determine what episodes should be depicted in order to make the picture true to reality. These difficulties lying in the path of the man of research I do not wish to speak of today, but rather to point out a serious obstacle that confronts the writer of history, namely that to be found in the prejudices of his readers. The picture he would draw must convey a correct impression to the mind of those who may peruse his volume, and he must have constantly in his mind the particular prejudices that he is likely to encounter. I may illustrate the point if you will excuse me for being so personal, from my own research concerning the character of Father Gibault who played such an important part in securing the Illinois country to the Virginians during the Revolutionary War. He is one of the heroes of the West in the minds of the people, although possibly a careful investigation of the facts may detract somewhat from the popular impression of him. It is not, however, of this fact that I wish to speak, but of some unpublished information which it is my intention not to use because of the possible misinterpretation that would be placed upon it by readers of my volume. In a public address of this sort the information may be used by way of illustration, since the full explanation may accompany the statement, whereas in the condensed narrative required by the size of the volume, such an explanation would not be possible. In the course of my investigations in Revolutionary history, there came to me three grocery bills of Father Gibault, containing itemized statements of his purchases for a period of time. From these it appears that the good priest found it difficult to live one day and never more than two days without purchasing from the nearby grocery one quart of whisky. This piece of information appears on the face of it interesting and important for the interpretation of Father Gibault's character and under some conditions might be used, but we are today on the eve of the final triumph of the

Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the prejudice against the use of alcoholic liquors is widespread throughout our country; to the mind of many readers therefore any mention of the daily consumption of a quart of whisky would only bring to the mind scenes of debauchery; and they would condemn Father Gibault without qualification as a drunken and debauched parish priest. The picture would not be true for Father Gibault lived in a time when the average man bought his whisky by the demijohn rather than by the quart, and the average citizen of Illinois, or Missouri where Father Gibault lived at the time, would have regarded as very moderate the consumption of a quart of whisky daily by himself and friends. Therefore to avoid a wrong impression of this particular parish priest I am not going to use the information contained in his grocery bills.

The danger of allowing the reader to draw his own inferences from the source material was well illustrated upon the appearance of the introductory volume of the Centennial history, Mr. Buck's "Illinois in 1818," which appeared last year. The character of his volume, purposely composed of extracts from contemporary documents, made Mr. Buck a little careless in handing out to his readers the raw material with which he himself was working; still he had every right to expect his readers to place the proper interpretation upon this source material and to set it in its correct perspective. In attempting to convey an idea of the educational conditions in Illinois existing in the year 1818 he quoted the comments of men who were living at that time. Among other descriptions he quoted one by John Mason Peck, a well known Baptist missionary, who after a survey of educational conditions in Missouri reached the following conclusion, which I quote in his own words: 'At least one-third of the schools were really a public nuisance, and did the people more harm than good; another third about balanced the account by doing about as much harm as good, and perhaps one-third were advantageous to the community in various degrees—not a few drunken, profane, worthless Irishmen were perambulating the country, and getting up schools; and yet they could neither speak, read, pronounce, spell, or write the English language.' Mr. Buck's comment on this passage was that

"the situation in Illinois was very similar." Now to Mr. Buck the Reverend Peck's statement was interesting simply as the opinion of a contemporary and he doubtless cracked smiles over the austere Baptist's hit at Irishmen and included the statement as a bit of local color, never doubting that his readers would discount Peck's prejudices as he did.

Great was Mr. Buck's amazement when on the publication of the book, a perfect storm of protest came from the Illinois citizens of Irish birth or extraction, who considered that the author had a personal grudge against them and that he had gone far out of his way to cast a very special aspersion upon them.

Now let us pause for a moment and calmly consider the situation. First of all in every discussion of former citizens of Ireland it must be remembered that there are two kinds of Irishmen in existence—one from the north and one from the south of the Emerald Isle; it must be further remembered that they have no love for each other, as recent events have only too well taught us. The men who protested against Mr. Buck's quotation of Peck were south Irelanders and jumped to the conclusion that their particular kind of Irishman was the only kind meant; whereas I should judge that since these Irishmen spoken of were forming schools among a Protestant community, they were the kind of Irishmen who when they got drunk had faith in the efficacy of Scotch whisky rather than of Irish whisky. Secondly, let me point out that although the present Irish may foreswear their liquor and disdain to use profane language, in the pioneer days they would not have been regarded as real men by their fellow citizens unless they were accustomed to do both, for such was the practice of the frontier. Our ancestors who crossed the mountains and won their way in the wilderness were men of strong virtues and of equally strong vices; and Peck found not a few drunken, profane, and worthless men from every race in Europe on the frontier which he knew so well. Further it must be remembered that Peck was a Baptist missionary with the prejudices of his calling and of his Anglo-Saxon blood. He had come from New England, where a particular brand of culture reigned, to a region that was undergoing the storm and stress of the pioneer days. Peck's very pre-

judices serve to make up the picture of contemporary Illinois in 1818.

I have introduced this episode of the Irish for a very important purpose. The American public is moved by sentiment and is inclined to place on its nose rose-colored glasses when looking at the past. This is a common failing of all nations in the world; the virtues of the fathers exceed the virtues of the son, the good old days and the good old customs are the ones which we wish to perpetuate; and therefore we picture in our minds our grandfathers as men of greater and nobler mould than we ourselves and our grandmothers as more virtuous, more noble, and more-self sacrificing than we are capable of becoming. With the same sentimentalism we as a people raise our heroes to the skies.

Long ago George Washington lost his human semblance and rose to the rarified air of the empyrean. The apotheosis of Abraham Lincoln has taken place before the very eyes of the present generation. Already his long shanks are resting on a throne in the skies beside the divine George. How uncomfortable both these men who were so human in all that made up their characters must feel as they sit there weighed down by their golden crowns and their royal mantles! We go further and are inclined to deify even the humble souls who have participated in our past. The pioneer is no longer human, but divine, no longer a man with human vices, but a hero of gigantic proportions. He must be pictured as invariably just and noble in his dealings though living in the midst of the violence of the wilderness; though uneducated, as rising to heights of political wisdom seldom reached by his descendants. We would drag back the generation of civilized men to the ruder virtues of primitive times. Such a conception of the frontier is by no means true. The conditions in Illinois at the time it became a State were not very dissimilar from the frontier Alaska of our own days or the pioneer Montana of a generation ago; the picture we have of either of these places can scarcely be called one of virtuous simplicity. On the border the uncultivated, the illiterate, and the desperado rubbed shoulders with the virtuous farmer, the college graduate, and the missionary. Here there

were fine examples of noble self-sacrifice; but here also were instances of selfish greed easily paralleling anything we know today. The frontier afforded a freedom which thrills the imagination of a more stifled generation, it allowed also a lawlessness and license which would be intolerable to us.

Illinois in passing from frontier conditions to a stage of higher civilization lost nothing that was worth keeping and gained much that was of the greatest value. The higher civilization has brought about a greater solidarity of the people, a nobler sense of duty to the community, and more intelligent action. Today we are in the midst of a great world event and our people have been thrilled, as they never were before, by a noble idealism. When I see the young men of all classes rush to the call of duty sounding from a battle line, 4,000 miles away, in order to preserve to the world an ideal, and when I see their sisters forego their pleasures in order to devote themselves to a cause requiring a high degree of intelligence to understand, I realize that the grandfathers and grandmothers who dressed in homely homespun were no greater than they even in the simple virtues of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty.

THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL

GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN

Many people have wondered whether or not Illinois should attempt a Centennial celebration, in view of the great tragedy which enfolds the world; but after the most careful consideration which the Commission was able to give to the question, the decision was reached that the war was all the more reason for recalling the events of our first hundred years. It was believed that by recounting the achievements of our past we would be better able to meet the demands of the present. We knew that we had a hundred years of glorious history behind us, and we believed that if we had those hundred years and their achievements in our mind we would more readily be able to meet the high duty with which we are confronted today, and therefore would be more likely to have another century equally glorious.

I am not going, of course, to make a speech to you tonight, but I do want to read a few words, before I introduce the first speaker, from the Annals of Congress, which, as most of you know, is the official record of the proceedings of Congress.

This State, a hundred years ago today, was told by the Federal Government at Washington that it might organize itself as a State, if it so wished. Twelve days before the President signed the bill the following proceedings occurred in the House of Representatives at Washington:

"The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the Bill to enable the people of Illinois Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on a footing with the original States.

"Mr. Pope," who was delegate in Congress from Illinois Territory—

"moved to amend the bill by striking out the lines defining the boundaries of the new State, and to insert the following: 'Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash River, thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said State, thence east with the line of the same State to the middle of Lake Michigan, thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude forty-two degrees, thirty minutes, thence west to the middle of the Mississippi River, and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio River, and thence up the latter river along its northwestern shore to the beginning.'"

"The object of this amendment, Mr. Pope said, was to gain, for the proposed State, a coast on Lake Michigan. This would afford additional security to the perpetuity of the Union, inasmuch as the State would thereby be connected with the States of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, through the Lakes."

I doubt if, in all the voluminous records of Congress, from the beginning until today, any event has transpired, recited in so few words as this, which has so affected the destiny of America as

this simple amendment. Before it was offered, the northern boundary of Illinois was to extend from a point at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, west to the Mississippi River. Without this amendment Chicago would not have been in Illinois; without this amendment Illinois would have been a slave state, because it was that part of the population of the state in the northern part of the state which saved it when the great trial came; without this amendment northern Illinois would have been a part of Wisconsin; the Lincoln-Douglas debates would not have occurred, and in all human probability Lincoln would not have been President, but would have died an obscure country lawyer!

So I read these simple, unpretentious lines from that rather dry and dusty record of the proceedings of Congress, to show to the people of Illinois that a hundred years ago a Providence seemed to be with her, shaping the great destiny that has come; and if there ever was a time in our history when faith in a Providence guiding the destiny of State and nations was needed, that time is now!

The first speaker of the evening, Monsieur Louis Aubert, a member of the High Commission of France, a distinguished scholar and writer, is doubly welcome to our midst. Illinois' early history concerns itself principally with French names. Marquette, Joliet, LaSalle and Tonti are among the great names of her early days. One of the most beautiful of our early traditions is the visit of LaFayette, upon his return to America. This State has cherished with affectionate pride every incident of that visit; and when you visit southern Illinois today the first things of which they will remind you are the spots and scenes of LaFayette's early visit.

I want also to say to Monsieur Aubert that Illinois' first Constitution was probably the only Constitution ever framed by any government which was expressly drawn so that a Frenchman might be a public official. When the fathers of a hundred years ago convened, they provided qualifications of citizenship for every one else for whom an office was created, but expressly and purposely omitted to include the Lieutenant-Governor as coming within those qualifications in order that old Pierre Menard might be the first Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois.

Those early memories have been greatly strengthened for us of this generation, in Illinois, by the visit a year ago of Marshal Joffre and Monsieur Viviani. It seemed to us fitting then that the hero of the battle of the Marne should come to our city and with loving hands should bear to Lincoln's tomb a wreath and lay it upon his bier, because of all the peoples of all time who have battled heroically for the principles for which Lincoln lived and died, the French nation during these years occupies the forefront.

These are gloomy days. We have all of us been under more or less depression; and the best comfort I have had recently was coming across a report that another great Frenchman, General Foch, sent from the field of the battle of the Marne to General Joffre at perhaps the critical moment in that battle. I am going to read that order:

"My right has been rolled up; my left has been driven back; my center has been smashed; I have ordered an advance from all directions."

I don't know—maybe at this moment they have rolled up our right, on the western battle front; they may have pushed back our left; they may have smashed our center; but while the spirit of France lives and while the Allied armies are commanded by General Foch, we will order an advance all along the line! And as heroic France, in the battle of the Marne, saved the day for civilization, so we, the Allies, in the most sacred cause for which men have ever fought or ever died, will save the world to the civilization which it has taken so many centuries to attain.

It is my great pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, to introduce to you the very distinguished Frenchman, Monsieur Louis Aubert.

A MESSAGE FROM FRANCE

M. LOUIS AUBERT, MEMBER OF THE FRENCH HIGH
COMMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you for the privilege of addressing you tonight in the name of France. In wishing that my country be represented at this commemoration, you have given once more an evidence of that charming virtue of the American people:—Gratitude.

From 1825, when General LaFayette came to this State, up to 1917, the date of the visit of M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre America has welcomed many illustrious Frenchmen.

Today, the greetings of France are brought to you by a more modest soldier. I hope you will not deem these greetings less warm and less sincere.

Gentlemen, as it has been your delicate idea to give to our meeting of tonight the character of a family reunion, let us speak first of our ancestors.

A Frenchman cannot glance at a map of your State without being deeply moved by souvenirs from the old country. Names of cities, Joliet, LaSalle, Vincennes—names of forts, Fort St. Louis, Fort Chartres, Fort Crevecoeur, how sweet those names sound to a French ear especially when heard far away from France!

But, Gentlemen, there is something more eloquent than these stones or these names, now dear chiefly to archaeologists: it is the dream, the magnificent dream of which they are the last humble witnesses.

The first white men to set eyes on the incomparable landscape of this great valley were Frenchmen: Marquette, Joliet, Cavalier de LaSalle. The grand empire, the creation of which seemed invited by these beautiful waterways flowing between the Great Lakes and the mouth of the Mississippi, had its inception in French minds.

What you realized in this, the most splendid cradle of energy and boldness in the world, was first the dream of French pioneers.

These stones, however, these French names scattered over your territory do not merely bespeak dreams of by-gone days: they attest the dominating and still enduring qualities which our race has manifested with a persistency of which any race might be proud.

The idealism of a Marquette, of a LaSalle, who were neither conquerors nor merchants but merely explorers impelled by a scientific curiosity or a religious proselytism—their bravery coupled with prudence, their tenacity, their love of peace which made them act as umpires between rival tribes, their spirit of kindness toward the natives, all these traits of our ancestors we find in our explorers

and soldiers of the 19th century, and today we find them in Brazza, who won for France the immense region of the Congo without shedding a drop of blood, in General Lyautey who, almost without drawing the sword, has given Morocco the benefit of French peace.

And now, in this hour of emergency, France is reaping the reward of this human spirit in this war in which all her subjects, black, white or yellow, have rallied with enthusiasm around her flag.

No indeed, the descendants of Joliet, Marquette, Cavelier de LaSalle have not degenerated into the old stay-at-home decadent race that the Germans were so pleased to picture. They have proved it to these same Germans at the Marne, at Verdun, and they are proving it today in the Oise, the Somme and the Lys valleys.

Likewise, I can safely predict that the qualities of your frontiersmen will come out in the sons of Illinois who are to fight in France!

I well remember when I was in the trenches over there how, in order to find an analogy to the strange existence I was thrown into, I, who had always lived in cities and whom war had surprised in a study, had to go back to a chapter of your historian Frederick J. Turner, on "the significance of the frontier in American history."

These trenches marked the farthest line of our civilization. Beyond the barbed wire was "No man's land." Every night, in our patrols or reconnaissances, we would creep always in the same direction towards the listening posts, guided only by the odors and the sounds brought to us by the wind. Gradually, the traces of our steps made a trail like the trails of the "coureurs de bois." Then, later on when we pushed forward our lines and advanced into "No man's land," these trails which then were used to bring supplies were widened into paths, then wagon roads and finally into railroads. So, in our turn, we passed through the different stages of your frontier life. And when, later, I heard of the skill and eagerness of the American soldiers in reconnoitering, I was not surprised: they are the worthy sons of the frontiersmen.

Gentlemen, there is another trait of your ancestors that our ancestors helped to develop in addition to the spirit of boldness and energy: it is the spirit of freedom. Your historians have pointed out how your revolutionary spirit was stimulated by this large territory suddenly thrown open to the industrial conquest of a numerous, hardy and independent people. It is because the exploration by Frenchmen of the Mississippi Valley hastened the day of that Declaration of Independence for which fought La-Fayette and Rochambeau. It is because some of the most brilliant qualities of your race were prepared and assisted by those Frenchmen who blazed the way for your spirit of enterprise and made it possible for you to satisfy your love of freedom, that from the very beginning up to today, the image of France has been firmly implanted, to use Dr. Finley's words, in the very heart of America. That true spirit of freedom of your West, no one better than your great fellow-citizen, Lincoln, has expressed when he said: "I never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence * * *." Then speaking of the inspiration derived from that document, he went on to show that "it gave liberty not alone to the people of the country but hope to all the world for all further time."

Then it is not an accident if the so inspired words that Lincoln applied to the Civil War apply equally well to our great war of today.

When he stated the impossibility for America to live "half slave and half free" did he not define exactly our own position?

Has any one ever written anything that fits more adequately the present situation than this sentence that one never tires of quoting:

"We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it will never end until that time."

We were not the aggressors any more than you were. It was not our love of adventure which drove us into this war, but the necessity of fighting for our liberty. With the admirable patience with which, for more than two years and a half, you opposed Ger-

man outrages, we, their immediate neighbors, opposed their exacting demands and provocations for forty-three years.

Challenged to a fight to death, we have sacrificed everything, land and men, without stint. For over three years and a half, out of a population that the invasion has reduced to 35 millions, France has mobilized seven and a half million men. Previous to the last drive, three million French soldiers in the army zone were holding more than two-thirds of the Western front.

Before the present battle, that effort had already cost us: 1,300,000 killed in action or dead from wounds received in battle. About 1,000,000 maimed and invalided—that is a decrease of two millions and a half out of our adult population, which to America would proportionately mean a loss of nearly six million men.

All our forces have been thrown into the fight: the results are that our wheat crops have been reduced by two-thirds, our shipyards have manufactured only guns and shells instead of ships, and our export business has been practically stopped.

All those sacrifices we have accepted without complaint, not only to defend our homes, but also to defend a great cause.

We never fought a separate selfish war. Our reserves in man power and material we have always placed, in the hour of need, at the disposal of Serbia, of Italy; and today in Picardy and Flanders, our divisions fight side by side with our gallant allies, the British.

With more than half of our coal fields and over 80 per cent of our iron deposits in the possession of the enemy, we have managed, not merely to set up entirely new industries to equip our armies, but we have been able to help our Allies, to whom, up to October, 1917, we had sent: 1,500,000 rifles, 2,500 guns and 4,750 airplanes; and you know that when you came into the war we guaranteed that, provided raw materials should be supplied, we could equip with guns and airplanes all American divisions brought over to France before July 1, 1918.

That we did, and today we have full confidence in your co-operation to the end. Upon the occasion of the first anniversary of your entrance into the war, your newspapers have reviewed the

extent of your effort. Your effort has been tremendous and its results are already very important.

General Pershing's action in placing all his resources in men and material at the disposal of General Foch, has deeply touched the heart of France. We know that your whole nation is at heart with that action and that all of you are ready to amplify it in placing all your resources at the disposal of our common cause. The success of your Liberty Loan will show it plainly. President Wilson's decision to brigade small American units into larger units of the French and British armies, reminds us of those of our revolutionary government amalgamating the young recruits of Liberty among old seasoned troops and you know the lesson Austrians and Prussians were taught during the campaigns of the French Revolution at the hands of those troops that their love of liberty made invincible.

The present battle, cruel as it is, has already brought serious and lasting advantages to the cause of the Allies. The first is the unity of command. We now have a generalissimo, a common leader, who is alone responsible for the strategy of the battle. Be assured that, when the time comes, he will know where to strike the blow. The second advantage is a greater unity of judgment. We now cherish less illusions than formerly about the sufferings of our enemies, their revolutionary discontent, their disposition towards a negotiated peace. Such a peace, the Germans mention less and less since they have treated with Russia, Ukraina and Roumania; they are gorged with lands to profit by and peoples to dominate and, even those who voted in favor of a peace of conciliation in the Reichstag in July last, are the first now to speak of necessary annexations in Belgium and in the French region of Briey.

Each autumn since 1915 the military leaders of Germany have made her people feel that war pays: Serbia crushed in 1915. Part of Roumania in 1916 and Russia and Ukraina and the whole of Roumania at the end of 1917. The Germans' hands are full, one more effort and all these gains will be insured for ever. The magnitude of the stake is worth the boldest venture. Let us not rely on Austria either. Not that she would not like to make peace—all the recent revelations of the secret negotiations which for a

year Austria has tried to bring about, clearly indicate her desire to come out of the war, but Austria in a military way and industrially and financially speaking is only a vassal receiving orders from Berlin.

Let us not rely on our enemies, on the diplomacy that might divide them. Let us rely on ourselves. Let us rely on the valour of our armies to bring about peace and let us take to heart the words of President Wilson: "Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world."

Gentlemen, the spirit in which France entered this war, the spirit in which she carries it through is the best test of the spirit in which she means to conclude peace.

You entered this war without territorial ambitions, you entered it for a principle. So did we! Do you believe that our country could and would have stood her enormous material losses and her frightful sacrifices in men if she had been prompted only by greed? Poor bargain, indeed!

No, the spirit that has animated the French soldiers since August, 1914, is a spirit of crusade, and if our national aspirations are summed up in the names of Alsace-Lorraine, it is because to us Alsace-Lorraine embodies the very spirit of this crusade.

Last October, before the Reichstag, Herr von Kuhlmann exclaimed: "Alsace-Lorraine is the symbol of the German Empire." Yes, Alsace-Lorraine annexed in spite of the unanimous protests of its inhabitants, Alsace-Lorraine under German yoke for 43 years has been the symbol of this brutal empire which already before the war had enslaved all its neighbors, the Danes of Slesvig, the Poles of Prussian Poland, and, during this war has subjected Courland, Esthonia, Luthuania, Poland, Roumania, Servia, Russia, and through Turkey Armenia.

The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France on the contrary would consecrate the victory of the principle for which we are all fighting! It has become the symbol of the right of people to dispose of themselves.

"Citizens possessed of souls and intelligence are not merchandise to be traded and therefore it is not lawful to make them the

subject of contract," objected to their new masters the newly annexed Alsatian-Lorrainers through their representatives in the Reichstag in 1874.

And President Wilson echoed the same sentiment when he said last February:

"Peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game."

Gentlemen, when Herr Von Kuhlmann or Count Czernin proclaim that Alsace-Lorraine is the only obstacle to peace, do not believe them. At the Peace Conference, there will be other questions to settle to make the world safe for democracy. Alsace-Lorraine is only one of the fourteen peace conditions enumerated by President Wilson. No, Alsace-Lorraine is not the only obstacle to peace. But no peace is possible without the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, for the brutal severance of these French provinces was the first crime of the new German Empire against democracy and out of that crime have come all the others that have astounded the world.

Listen to the final touching words of farewell that the populations of Alsace-Lorraine addressed to the French National Assembly in Bordeaux, forty-seven years ago, and remember that when they were repeated before the Reichstag in 1874, they were met with sneers and laughter.

"Your brothers of Alsace-Lorraine, now cut off from the common family will preserve for France, absent from their hearths, a filial affection until the day when she shall resume her rightful place here once more."

Gentlemen, note these words—brothers, family, filial affection, hearths * * *. It is the whole question of Alsace-Lorraine!

And after forty-seven years, your President, whose only concern is a lasting peace through justice, has heard the protests and pronounced this verdict:

"The wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine which has unsettled the peace of the world for

nearly fifty years should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all."

At present the recruits of Illinois, your own sons, are perhaps occupying in French Lorraine, at St. Mihiel or Aux Eparges, the sectors which face the Lorraine still occupied by the Germans. If some day France owes to their gallantry the recovery of her children which were torn away from her, gentlemen, then you will know that your sons have been the soldiers of Right!

Your forefathers and ours were empire builders. It is for us to show that their spirit may prompt us now to build up a world better than the one we have known.

In the first place, we will have to reconstruct France. You will help us. France feels that in the past as well as during this war, she has served mankind. In the interest of mankind you will help us to rebuild France.

We will have to reclaim "No man's land" and bring back life into the field of death. For this undertaking of peace, of civilization and happiness, I look forward to the cooperation of the descendants of the French and American settlers who raised your fair State of Illinois out of the wilderness of the prairies.

We will also have the world to reconstruct. This war has shown most plainly that there is no safety for a free state except in a close partnership with all other free states, respectful of each others' rights!

During this war, the nations most jealous of their national prerogatives had to sacrifice something of their pride and accept the control of international organizations.

After the war, something must survive of this union. We must discard the policy of "laissez-faire" and establish in its stead a better justice and a great efficiency. The antiquated conception of the balance of power must give way to a new regime. What will this regime be? We know already the one that the German kultur would set up. It would control the whole of Europe and reach out to Persia and India, and the Far East. And once in control of Europe and Asia the Kaiser, as he bluntly told you, would stand no nonsense from America. So, in the end, it would

amount to nothing less than the domination by the Germans of land, sea, sky and man.

The American conception of the new order is quite different. You know what it is, you Westerners, who have the far-seeing eye of the prairies, you citizens of Illinois, who gave to America the man who saved the Union. You have realized on this continent a Federal organization which, while respecting the rights of the states, is strong enough to insure fair relations between them. The society of nations is nothing else, gentlemen, but the American spirit extended to the world.

Perhaps our generation will see this League of Nations realized. Meanwhile, we must modestly begin by practising its spirit among our two countries, whose mutual feelings for the last hundred years are the surest promise of a better world to come.

Let us set ourselves to this momentous task with the spirit of those builders and settlers who are our ancestors. When they cleared the forest in the wilderness, they dreamed of the city which would rise some day near that clearing. It would be a beautiful city, open to all, where all men of goodwill would have a chance, where all men respectful of the rights of their fellows would live free.

Gentlemen, let us carry this dream one step further—let us work for a society of nations open to all peoples of goodwill and where all nations, great and small, will have the place they deserve.

THE CENTENNIAL ADDRESS.

ILLINOIS—THE LAND OF MEN

EDGAR A. BANCROFT

We are here tonight to celebrate with joy and pride both the growth and achievements of our State during its first hundred years. But we do not forget—we can not forget—how much back of that century, and how much now in this world-shattering and saddening war we owe to France. As America has recalled proudly her debt to her in the days of LaFayette, so Illinois should remember what she owes to the France of nearly a century before—France the bravest, most generous and liberty loving of nations.

Doctor Finley—whose absence, compelled by a distant and important mission, we all regret—has told with rare poetic insight the romantic story of the earlier explorations of this region in his lectures before the Sorbonne, which he has collected in a book entitled, "France in the Heart of America." In the preface, written since the war began, he gave this title a sentimental as well as a geographical turn. How truly was France in the heart of America! And with what profound satisfaction we recognize tonight that America is in the heart of France in fact no less than in sentiment! Precious as are our past obligations to this heroic people, our future ties to them should be ever sacred.

When General Pershing laid a wreath of roses on LaFayette's tomb he raised his hand in salute and said with soldierly brevity, "LaFayette, we are here!" So, we may say, "France, you have long been here; we rejoice that *we* are now *there*; for we both know that our cause is the same."

When the vanguard of America's army marched through the rejoicing streets of Paris last June, little French children knelt down at the curb as Old Glory passed. They felt and expressed it all. Since then the heart of America has been in France.

* * * * *

Let us first recall briefly that earlier time of picturesque and chivalrous adventuring.

It was the French who first explored this region and made it known to the world—soldiers seeking new domains for the lilies of France; missionaries seeking converts to the Christian faith; *voyageurs* seeking profit and adventure in this wild land. LaSalle, Marquette, Joliet, Hennepin, and their associates were the real discoverers of this vast expanse along the Upper Mississippi, with its fertile soil, natural beauty, abundant game and peaceful Indians. They mapped and named the water courses and other natural landmarks and the Indian villages. They established forts, founded missions, marked the trails and the sites for trading which they learned from the Indians. They were everywhere the forerunners of the pioneers. But it is a curious fact that the French established no enduring settlements. Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Peoria, Fort

Saint Louis (now Starved Rock) and Fort Crevecoeur, founded by the French fathers and soldiers, and nearly all their other outposts of civilization languished unless and until they were taken over by American or English pioneers.

It is to the intrepid missionary, Pere Marquette, that the State owes its name. Exploring the Mississippi, he came upon the footprints of a large band of Indians. Overtaking them, he asked who they were. They thrilled him with their answer: "We are the Illini—the tribe of men." Thus, this great land of prairies and wooded water courses between the rivers, and the lake became the Illinois territory, and nearly a century and a half later the State of Illinois. And the whole significance of our hundred years must be found in the deeper meaning of our name—Illinois, the land of men. For, no matter how much we exalt quantities and values and incomprehensible numbers, we know that their origins and significances are, and must always be, in *men*. Back of all deeds is the doer, and back of all accomplishment is individual character.

* * * * *

When the Congress authorized the formation of this State, and President Monroe signed the Enabling Act one hundred years ago today, it was the result of a very brief campaign here and was not regarded elsewhere as of special significance. Relatively little discussion had preceded the presentation of the memorial from the territory or delayed the passage of the bill through House and Senate. This had been a separate territory only ten years. Its population was then less than thirty thousand, mostly from slave-holding states, and all its settlements, without important exception, lay along the water courses near and south of the mouth of the Illinois River. Though this was a part of the Northwest Territory, from which slavery was excluded by the famous ordinance of 1787, yet slavery existed here from the days of French control. The census of 1818 reported 829 "servants or slaves."

*Daniel Pope Cook, the very young and energetic editor and proprietor of the Territory's chief newspaper, the *Western Intelli-*

* He was defeated as a candidate for the State's first representative in Congress, but he was appointed its first Attorney General.

gencer, published at Kaskaskia, is to be remembered as the main factor in bringing forward and pressing the question of statehood at that time, when the territory had scarcely half of the sixty thousand population required for a state under the ordinance of 1787.

Nathaniel Pope, our territorial delegate, in preparing the bill, fixed the northern boundary first at ten miles and finally at fifty miles north of the line through the south bend of Lake Michigan that had been indicated in the ordinance as the boundary of a new state. This change of boundary, in order to give Illinois access to Lake Michigan, seemed of small importance at the time, but it gave the State its entire lake frontage with its great metropolis and its fourteen northern counties which now have a population greater than that of all the rest of the State.

Here was a truly royal domain—with more acres of arable land than all England. It was, indeed, a new and fairer Mesopotamia, with leagues on leagues of verdant prairies, brilliant with wild flowers and fringed with forests along the streams. Beneath the riches of its deep black soil lay undreamed of wealth of coal and oil, of lead and zinc and other minerals. Upon its lakes and rivers there was no sail, only the silent canoe of the Indian and the *voyageur* and the slow, cumbersome river boat of the pioneer. There was no smoke cloud anywhere of town or factory. The rude, primitive salt works at Shawneetown was the solitary industry of Illinois. The blacksmith and itinerant cobbler supplemented the skill of the pioneer and his wife in providing the simple equipment and coarse clothing of the frontier life. The population—even including the 10,000 who came into the territory while it was framing a constitution for the State and thus made up the required 40,000, and even including the 6,000 Indians, who were practically the only inhabitants of the north three-quarters of the territory—amounted to only one person to each one and a quarter square miles.

* * * * *

What miracles a hundred years have wrought! The population has increased from 40,000 to about 6,000,000—nearly twice the population of the thirteen colonies in 1776. The production

of Indian corn has increased from a few thousand bushels, then produced by the settlers and the Indians, to 365,654,400 bushels in 1917. The total wealth of the State has increased from \$4,000,000 to \$15,000,000,000—nearly four thousand fold; and today the value of our productions from field and factory and mine is nearly \$3,000,000,000 a year. What a contrast between the little, crude salt works at Shawneetown and our vast and varied manufacturing enterprises today! Our exhaustless coal measures, our unequaled railroad transportation and the easy access by water to the Nation's great iron ore supply have been great factors in producing these results. Illinois plows, Illinois cornplanters and Illinois harvesting machines have increased the food supply in every quarter of the world, as they first increased it here. Illinois automatic machinery and machine shop equipments are lightening the labor of human hands in all countries. Illinois packing house products reach every corner of the globe, and Illinois watches keep time for every civilized nation.

Though the Illinois and Michigan Canal may seem now a rather sorry and expensive political reminiscence, it aided greatly in the growth of Illinois and of Chicago. Shadrach Bond, our first Governor, recommended it, and his successors, through discouragements and disasters not a few, persevered until it was completed in 1848. When the Erie Canal was finished in 1826, the commercial East and the agricultural West for the first time naturally joined hands at Chicago, instead of by way of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers as theretofore. Chicago has been called the child of New York and the Erie Canal. When the railroads came later the routes of commerce east and west of Illinois had been so far fixed through Chicago, and the natural influences were still so controlling, that Chicago's position as the railroad center of our country was soon firmly established.*

If it seems one of the chief marvels of our hundred years that this young State should furnish the site of the Nation's second and the world's fourth city, it is because Illinois combines in the

* Tucker of Virginia said in 1818 that it cost the farmer one bushel of wheat to carry two to a seaport town only eighty miles away. Land transportation was then limited by its cost to 100 miles.

major and world-wide sense the granary and the workshop. The legend of Chicago's seal tells the story, "*Urbs in horto.*"

These achievements are due to the foresight and character of the men, from Nathaniel Pope down through this wonder-working century, who discovered and developed the great natural resources and opportunities. For, important as the advantages of geographic and economic position and of natural resources are to such great accomplishments, they have required here, as they always do, another and yet more important factor—masterful men of vision. These accomplishments were largely by-products of the moral and political convictions and aspirations of the men and women of Illinois. From the beginning the people of this State have believed that the principles of the Declaration and the Constitution furnish the only sure foundation for a free and civilized state.

THE SLAVERY ISSUE

Though one-third of the territory of Illinois and all of its settlements in 1818 were south of the Mason and Dixon line, and the majority of its population had come from southern states, a commonwealth of freedom was the ideal of those Illinois pioneers.

Geographically this State extended into and bound together the sections of North and South. Likewise historically it held the strategic place in defeating slavery and disunion and in saving the Nation for human freedom.

The two exceptional and far-seeing provisions in the Enabling Act were: (a) Changing the northern boundary, and (b) giving *three of the five per cent* of the sales of public lands (which had usually been set apart for public roads) to the cause of public education.*

The Constitution under which the State was admitted contained rather complicated provisions as to slavery, that in effect recognized and legalized its existence as an indentured servitude under rigid restrictions for a limited time, but definitely provided for its abolition within a generation.

The real fight over slavery in Illinois came with the election of Edward Coles as the second Governor in 1822. He was a Vir-

* One-sixth of the total to go to the founding of a college or university.

ginian of education and high connections and substantial property. He had been private secretary to President Madison, and was a special ambassador to Russia in 1817. He inherited slaves, and, on his way to Illinois in the spring of 1819, he freed some twenty or more, but brought them to Illinois and gave 160 acres of land to each head of a family. He was known to be strongly opposed to slavery. In the election of 1823 the slavery party elected the Lieutenant Governor and controlled both branches of the legislature by large majorities. Governor Coles, in his first message, recommended the freeing of the slaves and the revision of the black laws for the protection of free negroes. The slavery party met this challenge by passing through the legislature, by the necessary two-thirds votes, a resolution for a constitutional convention. Its sole purpose was to protect slavery in Illinois. The question then went to the voters and a bitter campaign was waged in the summer of 1824. Although substantially the entire population was in the southern half of the State and had come mainly from the slave states, Governor Coles won a great victory. Of the 11,612 voters then in the State, 6,640 voted against the constitutional convention, which meant against slavery, and 4,972 in its favor. This settled finally the character of Illinois as a free State, and thus at once stimulated immigration from the free states of the North. It also showed that the southern stream of settlers, that came first, held largely the same enlightened views as those who came later from New England and New York and Pennsylvania.

It was Senator Douglas of Illinois who, a generation later, revived as a national issue the question of slavery by his bill to repeal the Missouri compromise. Out of that controversy sprang the candidacy of Abraham Lincoln for the United States Senate and the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. Lincoln came from Kentucky, a slave state, while Douglas came from Vermont. Lincoln, convinced that slavery was wrong, stood firmly against its extension. Douglas, though born and educated in New England, sought the path of compromise, and was more hostile to abolitionists than to slaveholders. In their debates they made Illinois the platform upon which the essential moral quality of this issue and

the impossibility of permanent compromise were strikingly shown to the American people.

In the Civil War Illinois rose to her supreme height in the contributions she made to the cause of freedom and union through President Lincoln, General Grant, Senator Trumbull, Richard Yates, our War Governor, General Logan, General Palmer, General Oglesby and many more, who, at the front—255,000 brave sons—in the Congress, in the Legislature and in private life devoted themselves with unselfish ardor to saving our Republic. The war ended forever the question of slavery, which had divided our State and Nation for so many years, and the cause for which Lovejoy gave his life at Alton in 1837 was won. And the great leaders who were so conspicuous in our first fifty years are our most inspiring possessions, our most abiding influences.

EDUCATION

Though the Enabling Act wisely provided that the larger portion of the proceeds from public lands within the State should go to education (because, as he so erroneously stated, the Illinois country did not need much money for good roads!) Nathaniel Pope's wise foresight was vain. Funds from this source were absorbed and lost in the later craze for public improvements.

While schools and churches were almost the first desires of many Illinois pioneers, public education here as elsewhere, was very slowly developed. During the first fifty years the real centers of learning and enlightenment were the communities where private initiative and gifts had founded academies and denominational colleges. They offered the opportunity of a liberal education to the children of the poor and well-to-do alike. Shurtleff, McKendree, Illinois and Knox Colleges were early examples of these centers of moral and mental enlightenment and progress in this State. They constantly drew hither the more desirable settlers, and through their students and graduates disseminated higher ideals of conduct, business and government. They combine, as no other institutions of learning have done with equal emphasis, the development of the moral and religious as well as the intellectual nature. They ministered largely to the moral indignation against slavery

which found full expression in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Edward Beecher, president of Illinois College, and Jonathan Blanchard, president of Knox College, were strong anti-slavery leaders in the discussions that followed the murder of Lovejoy.

Not until the last fifty years did the early plans for public education become effective. Our public school system had hardly begun by 1855 and progress was slow until after the Civil War. It is in her later years that Illinois has developed her great State university and the two other universities on private foundations at Chicago.* In libraries, in the fine arts, and in music Illinois has facilities, opportunities and students which give her a relative rank even greater than her wealth and commerce.

Indeed, the connection is closer than is sometimes realized between the agencies for religious, moral and mental development and the physical evidences of great wealth and enterprise. For it is not alone the combination of the trained scientific mind and business sagacity that have produced the vast wealth of our State. Sterling moral character, fine public spirit, high personal and commercial ideals have given energy and stability to our great business enterprises. And the men who have won the largest successes have themselves attested the truth of this statement. Philip D. Armour established the Institute of Technology as well as a world-wide business to fitly perpetuate his name. The memory of the commercial genius of Marshall Field will persist in the centuries to come, not so much in the marvelous business which he created as in the monument† which is near its completion on the shore of Lake Michigan, and the influence of that monument will increase and expand with the years. George M. Pullman, whose engineering skill lifted Chicago out of the swamp before he established the business that bears his name, took pains to assure a continued influence of elevation in the great training school which he founded. Similar instances are to be found in all parts of our State. Among

* Jonathan B. Turner's contribution is worthy of remembrance. He came to Illinois in the early thirties. He was the leader in the movement creating State Universities by National aid and to furnish agricultural and technical instruction. He also introduced the osage orange hedges to save the expense of rail fences and of ditches and embankments then in general use. In this war American Universities and Colleges have made the priceless contributions of patriotic enthusiasm and eager young men specially competent for leadership in every branch of war service. And the roots of the osage orange—now supplanted by wire fencing—have yielded a dye for their uniforms.

† The Field Columbian Museum.

us of Illinois no man is regarded as truly successful unless he adds high personal character and a generous civic spirit to his business abilities.

It was the moral and idealistic training of American schools and colleges that made the martyrdom of Belgium and Germany's cruel crimes against humanity on land and sea and from the air potent and irresistible arguments for our joining the Allies. It was largely our college men who went, and inspired others to go, overseas to aid French and English arms long before our declaration of war. We should never forget the moral heroism and vicarious sacrifice of this proud American vanguard of 30,000 men, fighting under foreign flags for the life and soul of neutral America.

The queenly stature of Illinois in the sisterhood of states has been made due to her steadfast devotion to liberty, justice, education, and all the agencies of moral, aesthetic and spiritual enlightenment, and to a patriotism that embraces all these.

What a powerful inspiration in the trying days of this World War have been the memories of the Illinois leaders in the War for the Union! Every Illinoisan who knows what Lincoln and Grant and Logan and Palmer and Oglesby strove for is bound to know and feel that their work is vain unless the Prussian arms and creed are beaten to the dust. But we all knew that as they sought a half century ago to save this Nation, not for its power or its glory, but because in its survival were bound up the deepest interests of mankind, so America is fighting with the Allies in this war. And their spirit and capacity and devotion have reappeared during the past twelve months in the varied labors and solid service of Governor Lowden. His record and his character are one of the strong promises for our second century. By his words and his acts he has made clear the purpose for which America fights; and that all that Illinois has, all that Illinois is, are but dust in the balance as compared with the cause for which American soldiers are fighting and dying on the Western front.

Therefore, Illinois is pledged and prepared by her history and ideals to fight to the end, even if the war should take from us all that our hundred years have gathered.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE

What are the problems that confront Illinois as it enters upon its second century, and what are the lessons its past teaches?

The problems are the old ones of making and keeping a democracy honest and humane in purpose, genuine, intelligent and steadfast in character. The perpetual problem, as Lincoln stated it, is to have a government strong enough to protect the liberties of the people in a crisis, but not too strong for those liberties in times of peace; the problem of keeping justice and liberty equal and fraternal, and of ever guarding and preserving not only the essential principles, but the essential institutions of our free Republic.

This war has taught us, as no other war in our history has done, that a republic must not only be willing to fight for its liberties, but it must be prepared to fight; that loyalty imposes a constant obligation which will be most cheerfully recognized and met if it is definite and applies to every youth alike.

The utter collapse and disintegration of Russia have taught us—as we needed to be taught—that there can be no justice assured to anyone except under ordered liberty, under a government of justice and law; that a socialistic government, whether resulting in anarchy or oligarchy, is not the government which Washington founded and Lincoln saved. Their government was of the whole people, and not of any class, and was founded in rules of right and in permanent institutions of liberty and justice.

Free government no more means a government of the proletariat than of the grand dukes; no more of the poor than of the rich; no more of the ignorant than of the learned. It means a government in which *all* participate, and under which the *rights of all* are *equally* protected; and protected not by the *will of the rulers*, whether a vast committee or an irresponsible czar, but protected by fundamental principles of justice and by established institutions of freedom.

Illinois has been ever true in conviction, if not always in practice, to the rule that "obedience to law is liberty." The disorders of the Chicago strike of 1894, and the more recent race riots at

Springfield and East St. Louis, are painful reminders that dangers constantly lurk in a democracy and that neither justice nor liberty can live under mob law. Reverence for law must ever go with devotion to liberty, else liberty is lost. "Law is the uttered conscience of the state restraining the individual will."

This war should teach us another lesson of the highest value. In England and in America the great crisis has submerged and obliterated for the time the divisions between so-called labor and capital. Both have forgotten their differences—have been ashamed of their differences—in the presence of a danger that threatened to engulf them both. If the war has taught cooperation and mutual confidence and the duty to suppress differences for the good of all, shall we not finally learn that lesson and apply it to all our relations hereafter? For internal class divisions and strife will wreck democracy as surely as would the success of the German arms.

It is increasingly patent that much remains to be done in order to make every Illinois boy and girl fit in spirit, in hand and in brain for the duties and the devotion of citizenship. This is a problem, not so much of making every citizen of greater economic worth to the State, but of making every youth, whether alien or native born, a loyal, an honest and an intelligent citizen. A formal naturalization of the immigrants is not enough—it means very little; it should mean very much. It should mean such knowledge of our language—and *there is but one American language*—and of our history and institutions, as will lead them unconsciously to love America with the singleness to which they pledge themselves in their oath of allegiance. Americanism admits of no divided loyalty—least of all between America and another nation whose governmental aims and principles are antagonistic to ours.

The pitiful exhibition of "international democracy" in Russia the past year should be warning enough to us against every propaganda that weaken, in anyway or for any human purpose, complete patriotic devotion to America. All such movements in the name of humanity destroy all the safeguards of essential human rights.

"God gave all men all earth to love,
But since man's heart is small,
Ordained for each one spot to be
Beloved over all."

* * * * *

When the heat of summer lies heavy upon our land there comes a flower that bursts in white and gold on the sluggish stream, and decks with sweet stars of day the surface of many a murky pool. The Illinois of our pride today is not found in its population or wealth or its material resources. It is in the soul of our commonwealth. Like a pond lily, it has grown out of the depths of this fecund valley, and, striving upward through all the turbulent and turgid floods of a new industrial and civil life, has been nourished even by the impurities in which it was rooted.

Only as our buildings and enterprises, our genius for production and commerce strengthen and uplift the collective soul of our people, are they truly admirable. Every beauty of line in the material edifice of our greatness, every political or commercial achievement that stirs the spirit, is proof of the essential soundness of a civilization that has been and still may be somewhat crude, yet has been always genuine, always aspiring.

Even our largest material accomplishments disclose ideals that have not yet been realized, and that have soared with each attainment; that have gone like the purpose before a deed, leading to action, but mingling with fulfillment a high discontent that impels to yet higher doing. They are but the symbols of our power, the promise of our future.

It is a brave banner that we unfurl, bearing the record of our hundred years. There you may read the story of Pere Marquette, carrying the cross to the wild tribes of our prairies; of the French *coureurs du bois*, romantic, brave, enduring; of the frontiersmen, who, like the explorers and fur traders, loved the wilderness, its hardships and adventures, with its free life and isolation, for their own sake, and then as towns and cities grew, they vanished beyond the Mississippi.

You can see there the pioneers—the lonely log cabin, the little hamlet in the midst of the undulating sea of prairie flowers,

guarded by the church spire and the school house, rather than by the walls and gates of old. Into the peace and silence come a few harsh notes of strife between savage and settler; splashes of blood stain the lake's yellow sands. Then you can see later the yeomen of the countryside marching with their flintlocks against the Indians in the one war that has touched the soil of Illinois.

You can see the beginnings of communities, of an organic life binding communities together; the self-contained, yet unconscious heroes of that simple time, moving with a certain giant strength and childlike directness to control the forces which were then raw and plastic, and to build out of them a puissant and stable state. The pioneers stood as the trees of a forest, together but individual.

"They rise to mastery of wind and snow;
They go like soldiers grimly into strife
To colonize the plain. They plow and sow,
And fertilize the sod with their own life,
As did the Indian and the buffalo."

Behold there the simple folk that defended themselves against the red race, now imperiling their liberty and their lives to give freedom to the fleeing slave. These men of the "underground railroad" were the first projectors of North and South railroad lines, and they surpassed all others in having successful *operation* accompany the preliminary *survey*!

How that record blazes with the part of Illinois in the great war for Freedom and the Union! Behold the long lines of blue, gathering from farm and shop and store and school, and moving away to martial music, mingled with huzzas and sobs—to meet death or victory, as might be, but to meet either with a smile. The story brightens and darkens as gloom follows gleam until at last, out of hoping and despairing comes victory, and the sad, yet rejoicing return.

Then a shadow falls across the picture—a shadow so deep that it darkens every heart and every home in Illinois. Lincoln, the great Captain, Lincoln the Emancipator of the Slaves, Lincoln the Saviour of the Nation, Lincoln the Martyr, lies dead.

"When lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed,
 And the great star early drooped in the western sky
 in the night,
 I mourned and yet shall mourn with ever-returning
 spring."

Then we see the interrupted forces rearrange themselves; old enterprises and new endeavors take on a new vitality; we see a city leap into life as by magic, and then more suddenly vanish in flames. Its woe becomes its fortune; its destruction is its upbuilding. Enterprise, commercial and industrial, dominates every element of city and country life. Material foundations are laid so broad and so deep that all else seems forgotten. Streets are lifted out of the swamp; notable buildings are raised out of the ashes; numerical and financial strength increases. Out of them arise the beginnings of an intellectual and aesthetic life.

"Whate'er delight
 Can make Day's forehead bright
 Or give down to the wings of Night."

Wealth, philanthropy and art, schools and universities blossom in the Dream-city of the Exposition, a city built of wave and cloud and sunshine; that opened, when the daylight faded, like a great night-blooming cereus by the margin of the lake. It glowed with the colors of evening and of dawn, and passed as they pass, leaving only imperishable memories.

* * * * *

And then the portraits that hang in the hall of our hundred years! Plutarch's men, who lived the

"Life that doth send
 A challenge to its end;
 And when it comes, says
 Welcome, friend!"

Douglas, the "Little Giant," like a short, swart tower holding guns terrific for destruction and defense; Baker of the silver voice, who joined to the strength of the West and the calmness of

the North, the warmth and fervor of the South—whose brilliant speech was forgotten in the keener flash of his sword, which, alas! fell with him at Ball's Bluff in the very budding of his powers; and Palmer, who followed Douglas in putting aside his party and its principles for the higher cause of the Nation; and in his old age again standing true to his convictions and assuming leadership to guard the Nation from financial disaster; and Oglesby, the homeless Kentucky lad, thrice chosen Governor of Illinois, and beloved leader in war and in peace; Trumbull, slender of stature, but great in intellectual power—the foremost constitutional lawyer and debater of that time; and Logan of the sable wing, who left the companions of his youth to lead, as few leaders could, the impetuous legions of the North—who with a soldier's reckless daring joined a gentle heart, and in the thankfulness that followed war helped to heal its wounds by assisting in the establishment of the Grand Army of the Republic.

And Grant, of the stern, unflinching, untelling face, of a figure and a stature that gave no hint of martial glory or of martial prowess, but which held a spirit that was dogged, indomitable, persistent and resistless in war; that was gentle, self-sacrificing, and more sublimely brave in peace; that made Appomattox a shrine of magnanimity and Mount McGregor an altar of moral heroism.

But above all in our Pantheon is Lincoln, the people's hero, whose greatness is the common possession of mankind: A face so plain it fascinates, so sad it touches the heart; so illumined that it draws us from all sordidness; eyes that beacon to the safe harbor of a true soul; a form builded like the ships of the Vikings, strong to the uttermost, and graceful almost in the perfectness of its strength; a mind that brought every question to the test of truth, and would not deceive others because it would not deceive itself; a mind ever ruled by a heart which, as Emerson said, was as capacious as the storehouse of the rains, but had no room in it for the memory of a wrong; a mind and a heart distraught, oppressed, borne down under burdens greater than ever man bore, and shaken by a temperament touched with moodiness and mysticism—they kept their soundness in a philosophy that took the sense of the comic as a preservative of wisdom, and the sense of duty as the

preservative of honor and endeavor; a spirit so fine that it felt, past all argument, the imminence of Divinity; a life harmonized and made glorious in the conclusion of Darwin; though a man may not fully know the issue of his life or the nature of God, he can do his duty. And how Lincoln did his duty, mankind will ever love to tell.

But there is another picture, a small part of a great canvas, not yet finished, radiant with a light that brightens every portrait, every painting in that hall. It portrays Illinois summoning her youth by hundreds of thousands to prepare to prove at arms her loyalty to liberty and her gratitude to France, and to defend that government of the people which it is Illinois' chief glory to have helped to save.

There is here none of the pageantry or trappings of an army with banners. Like the rude cabins of the pioneers, multiplied into myriads, are the schools of military instruction going forward with the simple directness and the invincible purpose of a high resolve. Here above the broad prairie the young eagles are trying their wings and their talons, that they may strike to the earth the German vultures that are tearing at the vitals of defenseless millions.

Then we see them again—long lines of khaki brown and glistening steel that go forward and ever forward—some wounded, some dying, all cheerful, all smiling, all determined. And above the lines and before them—yea, and above the lines of France and of England—shining in the upper air, watching, rising, wheeling, striking—and sometimes falling!—are the young eagles of Illinois!

And the light of that picture glows upon all her sons who served with perfect devotion, whether here or there; whether they have returned, or whether France shall keep them lovingly and make their resting places shrines of liberty. And the radiance of that picture is from the sun of universal justice, liberty and kindness that is just rising upon a darkened world.

All this—and how much more?—glows resplendent on our banner, though it shows but the simple legend, *Illinois, the Land of Men.*

ESTABLISHING THE AMERICAN COLONIAL SYSTEM IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

BY ELBERT JAY BENTON

The occasion of the Illinois Centennial is an auspicious time to pay tribute to the great achievement in American history during the infancy of the communities which form the group of states of the Old Northwest. That achievement is the establishment of the American Colonial System. It is not intended to raise the question of the congressional history of the Ordinances which formulated it. That phase of the story may rest as it has been recorded.¹ The problem now essayed is to trace the actual process of establishing the peculiar American mode of dealing with frontier communities. It was one thing for Congress to lay down in a series of Ordinances the outline of a plan of government for the western domain, it was another for officials to carry it out in practice—to overcome the barriers to its application in a geographically remote wilderness. It is, indeed, the appearance of these barriers and their overcoming by territorial authorities which constitutes the main problem of this study.

The United States acquired so far as international relations were concerned a title to the Northwest Territory in the treaty which closed the Revolution. The national government still had two rival contestants in the field: some of the older states thought their territories swept across the Mississippi Valley in wide belts; and there were the Indian occupants. The former was easily disposed of, thanks to eight years of cooperation in a common cause and the conciliatory spirit abroad immediately after the Revolution. The deed of cession of Virginia, March 1, 1784, finally gave the United States title to a large strip north of the Ohio River.

¹ McLaughlin, *Confederation and the Constitution*, chs. 7, 8; Channing, *IV*, ch. 17; Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787*. Archer B. Hulbert, *The Records of the Ohio Company*, has given a fresh account of the relation of the Ohio Company to the genesis of the territorial policy.

New York had yielded a more shadowy claim to the same region three years earlier. Deeds of cession by Massachusetts, April 19, 1785, and by Connecticut, May 28, 1786, extended the national jurisdiction until it covered the whole of the Northwest, except Connecticut's western reserve along the south shore of Lake Erie. These cessions were the first price which states with western claims paid for Union.

The other western problem at the outset was to acquire from the Indian occupants treaties ceding their claims to such portions as were wanted for immediate colonization. The United States dealt with the Indian as semi-dependent nations. The Congress of the period went about the task quite logically. It began by creating a commission to negotiate with the Indians, and an army to give protection to all concerned. At the conclusion of peace it ordered the Revolutionary army disbanded, except a small guard of 80 men for Fort Pitt and West Point. On June 3, 1784, it instructed the Secretary of War to call 700 men from the militia of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania for short terms of service in the protection of the Northwest frontier. The dismissal of the last regiment of the Revolutionary army had occurred only the day before, so that the act of Congress was an illustration of the new republic's fear of anything approaching a regular trained army and its faith in the adequacy of short term bodies drawn from the state militia system.² Nothing is more characteristically American than this action. Colonel Josiah Harmar was given command of the western army.³ In the fall Harmar's force of state militia, about four hundred in number, made its way across the Alleghanies into the Indian country north of the Ohio River. The militia of Connecticut and New York had not responded to the call. Some efforts were being made to recruit their quotas, but the frontier had to wait long for their coming.⁴

² Journals of Congress, IV, 433, 438.

³ Josiah Harmar, born in Philadelphia, 1753, educated at a Quaker School, entered Pennsylvania militia as a captain in 1777, colonel in 1777, commandant of western army of United States in 1784, brevet Brigadier-General in 1787, commander-in-chief of United States Army in 1789, retired from army in 1792, died in Philadelphia, 1813.

⁴ Harmar to Thomas Mifflin, President of Congress, Dec. 5, 1784, Transcripts obtained from the State Department by A. T. Goodman in 1871 and deposited with the Western Reserve Historical Society. Cited hereafter as Goodman Transcripts. See also Journals of Congress, IV, 874-5; Major Ebenezer Denny, *Military Journal*, p. 257).

During the year in which a military force was taking shape for the Northwest, another territorial agency of the Confederation was organized. The first step was taken three days after the United States acquired title to the strip along the north side of the Ohio Valley. Congress appointed five commissioners who were instructed to negotiate with the northern and western Indians for their claims on the western country. A resolution urged the commissioners to make haste with their task. They were given power to contract with merchants for supplies of provisions and other gifts for the Indians as well as the necessities of the commission.⁵ Three of them were present at a conference with the New York Indians at Fort Stanwix, and on October 22, 1784, concluded a treaty which bears the name of the place of conference.⁶ The Governors of New York and Pennsylvania had representatives at the conference and treated separately with the Indians. Such conflicts of jurisdiction were not the least of the embarrassing problems before the national commissioners.⁷ In the end the commissioners secured from the Six Nations the abandonment of their pretensions to the region south and southwest of Lake Erie. The commission then ordered goods "delivered to the Six Nations for their use and comfort."⁸

Oliver Wolcott,⁹ Richard Butler,¹⁰ and Arthur Lee¹¹ served as Commissioners at the Fort Stanwix conference. Wolcott was replaced by George Rogers Clark¹² on the Commission which met

⁵ Journals of Congress, IV, 345, 352, 446, 484.

⁶ Journals of Congress, IV, 363; 378, 382, 531; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, p. 10.

⁷ The Olden Times, II, 412-430; J. A. James, Some Phases of the History of the Northwest, Reports of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, 171.

⁸ Journals of Congress, IV, 531-2.

⁹ Oliver Wolcott, born in Connecticut, 1726, graduated from Yale College, 1747, became colonel of Connecticut Militia, 1775, brigadier-general 1776, member Continental Congress 1776-8 and 1780-84, signer of the Declaration of Independence, major-general, 1779, lieutenant-governor of Connecticut, 1786-96, governor 1796, died while governor 1797.

¹⁰ Richard Butler, born in Ireland 1743, brought to America by parents when five years old, settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, appointed major of Pennsylvania militia in 1776, lieutenant colonel 1777, and colonel of a Pennsylvania regiment; appointed major general in St. Clair's army, 1791, killed in battle, 1791.

¹¹ Arthur Lee, born in Virginia in 1740, educated at Eton College and University of Edinburgh, studied law at the Temple in London, and practiced law in London, 1770-6, sent by Congress on several diplomatic missions in Europe during the Revolution, member of Congress, 1782-4, member of the Board of the Treasury, 1784-9, died in Virginia, 1792.

¹² George Rogers Clark, born in Virginia, 1752, land surveyor by profession, became major in Virginia militia 1776, lieutenant colonel, 1777-79, commanding Virginia forces operating against the British in the Northwest, brigadier general in Continental Army, 1781, died in 1818.

the western Indians. Butler kept a journal of the conference which it held with the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa Indians at Fort McIntosh during December and January in 1784 and 1785.¹³ He describes a motley throng of Indians, men, women, and children, that assembled during the last days of November. The Commissioners doled out from their stores food, kettles, blankets, rum, and powder, and then struggled to keep in control the obstreperous element set off by firewater and emboldened by new supplies for their firearms.¹⁴ By a combination of bribery, threats, and coaxing the Indians were brought to sign the so-called treaty of Fort McIntosh. A line was drawn through the central part of Ohio, east of which the Indians ceded their claims.¹⁵ The treaty of Fort McIntosh followed the well worn colonial policy of inducing the Indians to move farther westward. It seemed a great achievement. The Indians had in effect ceded some 30,000,000 acres to the United States.¹⁶ One or two facts lessened its importance. Various influences caused the Indians to make scraps of paper of their pledges. To begin with, the Shawnee, the most powerful of the western Indians, were not parties to the treaty of Fort McIntosh. But more serious was the fact that the treaties were concluded with only one element of the Indian tribes. At the very time the pacific element was coming to terms with the Commissioners of the United States, warrior bands were raiding white settlements. The political organization of the western Indians was extremely chaotic. No authority among the Indians could control the situation. And even the peace element which assented to the treaties had little interest in peace with the United States for its own sake, and an absorbing hunger for the goods which the commissioners were doling out. Such treaties backed by ineffective military forces were little less than futile absurdities, although the motives behind them were of the highest.

No one recognized the incompleteness of the work more clearly than the commissioners.¹⁷ Early in 1785 they summoned the

¹³ Fort McIntosh was a crude wooden fort near the mouth of the Big Beaver.

¹⁴ *The Olden Time*, II, 433.

¹⁵ *Journals of Congress*, IV, 532; *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, I, p. 11.

¹⁶ *Washington Writings*, Ford édition, Vol. X, 447.

¹⁷ *Journals of Congress*, IV, 486-7.

Shawnee to a conference. Clark and Butler were still on the commission, but the third commissioner was Samuel H. Parsons,¹⁸ who was to take a place among the makers of the Northwest.¹⁹ The conference occurred at the mouth of the Great Miami River during January, 1786. A treaty was concluded January 31, 1786. The Shawnee were left in possession of a vast sweep of territory north of the Ohio River, comprehending in general that between the Great Miami River and the Wabash. The territory to the eastward of this tract was ceded by the Indians to the United States. The title of the National Government to a great area of the Northwest seemed complete, and the procedure for further acquisitions outlined.²⁰ Yet there were other forces which defeated these paper agreements. The British garrisons continued to occupy the frontier posts on American soil; foreign fur-traders vied with American traders for the favor of the Indian; and squatters of American birth equally with uncontrollable Indian bands disregarded the treaty obligations.²¹

Congress left the meager frontier army to struggle on with the forces which were nullifying the treaties, and went ahead with its legislative program. And a remarkable one this was. Important ordinances followed one another in annual sequence. One in 1784 outlined a plan under which the settlers were to institute government and take a place in the political union. One of 1785 adopted a plan of land survey, land endowments for education, and a policy of land disposal as a national asset. An ordinance of 1786, introducing a new mode of handling the relations with the Indians, completed the series.²² A few weeks earlier the northern

¹⁸ Samuel H. Parsons, born in Connecticut, 1737, graduate Harvard College, 1756, began practice of law, 1759, member of Connecticut Legislature, 1762-1774, major in Connecticut Militia, colonel, 1775, major general, 1780, commanding Connecticut line of Continental Army, member and President of Society of Cincinnati in Connecticut, stockholder and director of the Ohio Company.

¹⁹ Journals of Congress, IV, 574.

²⁰ Journals of Congress, IV, 627; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I, 11; Butler's Journal in Olden Time, II, 521. Another Commission had carried to a similar point of success the negotiations with the southern Indians. Journals of Congress, IV, 627.

²¹ Harmar's Letters, June 1, 1785, June 21, 1785, May 7, 1786, Goodman Transcripts; Butler's Journal, Olden Time, II, 433; A. C. McLaughlin, Western Posts and British Debts, American Historical Association Report, 1894, 413; J. A. James, Some Phases of the History of the Northwest, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1914-15, p. 168.

²² Journals of Congress, IV, 677.

and southern Indian Commissions had been discontinued in order to prepare the way for reorganization.²³

The Ordinance of 1786 for the Regulation of Indian Affairs created a national Indian department of two districts. The Ohio River became the general line of division. A superintendent in each district was in charge of Indian affairs, and required to report to Congress through the Secretary of War. Other clauses forbade foreigners residing among the Indians or trading with them, and established the license system for Americans who resided among them or traded with them. The act intended to provide a mode by which the National Government could take an effective hold of Indian trade, make it an American monopoly, and meet and checkmate the British economic interests in the Northwest. A week later Congress chose Richard Butler Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern district.²⁴

The Land Ordinance of 1785 had continued the office of Geographer of the United States, who was virtually Surveyor General, and who with the surveyors appointed by the several states was laying out the land according to the national system of surveys.²⁵ The significant thing is that a service previously local was nationalized. Thomas Hutchins²⁶ who had served as a national geographer since 1781 was now reappointed for a term of three years. In September, 1785, Hutchins took up his work in the Northwest. The election of Butler as Indian Superintendent brought two national agencies of administration into the developing institutions of the new national territorial system.

In the meantime Harmar's western army remained a comparatively feeble force. In 1785 Congress called upon Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania to supply eight companies of infantry and two of artillery. In reality the infantry seldom exceeded 500. Three years later, 1788, the two companies

²³ *Ibid.*, IV, 664.

²⁴ *Journals of Congress*, IV, 683; Butler's jurisdiction extended from the Hudson to the Mississippi, and from the Ohio to the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes.

²⁵ *Journals of Congress*, IV, 520.

²⁶ Thomas Hutchins, born in New Jersey, 1730, entered British army, joined American Continental army in 1779, appointed geographer for the southern army by General Greene in 1781, appointed sole geographer of the United States in 1784, continued in office until death in 1789. A Surveyor General was finally created by the act of 1796. Rufus Putnam became first Surveyor General. *Journals of Congress*, III, 617, 644; IV, 627, 636, 818.

of artillery were not yet in western service. New York had not made any provision for recruiting its quota. The backwardness of the states in fulfilling their national duties which was paralyzing the Confederation in the East was also hampering the establishment of order and government in the Northwest.²⁷ The losses of the army in numbers through those whose terms expired and through desertion from dissatisfaction with the service nearly offset the gains from recruiting. Harmar complained that he had constantly to weaken his force by sending officers on recruiting missions into the states, and to manoeuvre with the old soldiers in order to re-enlist them. The necessity of securing the approval of state executives to all changes in officers in each state's quota undermined discipline.²⁸ The Journal of Joseph Buell, a sergeant in Harmar's regiment, gives a glimpse of the kind of maneuvering which won re-enlistments. The entry is for July 4, 1786. It reads as follows: "The great day of American independence was commemorated by the discharge of thirteen guns; after which the troops were served with extra rations of liquor, and allowed to get drunk as much as they pleased."²⁹

There is no evidence that time was creating a well equipped, well disciplined national force capable of coping with frontier conditions. The testimony of the witnesses records a constant struggle of the officers with the soldiers for the maintenance of discipline. In 1786 after a long debate Congress yielded to the urgent representations of the commander of the western army, the Secretary of War, the Governor of Virginia, and the frontier settlements. The size of the western army was set at 2,000 men. And yet Harmar reported in 1788 that the limit of his expectations for the year was for 595 men. Such troops as Harmar had were of necessity kept scattered in small garrisons along the Ohio Valley.³⁰

²⁷ Report of a Committee of Congress, October 2, 1788, Journals of Congress, IV, 874; Harmar, Letter of June 15, 1788, in Goodman Transcripts.

²⁸ Harmar's Letter, January 10, 1788, Goodman Transcripts.

²⁹ Hildreth, Pioneer History, 144.

³⁰ The principal posts were Fort Franklin, near the mouth of French Creek; Fort McIntosh, near the mouth of the Big Beaver; Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum; Fort Steuben, at the rapids of the Ohio; and Post Vincennes on the Wabash River; Fort Harmar was the usual headquarters of the commandant until Fort Washington was established opposite the mouth of the Licking River in 1789. Harmar to Knox, September 12, 1789, Goodman Transcripts; Journals of Congress, IV, 874.

When Colonel Harmar arrived in the Ohio country he found squatters rapidly taking possession. Some had settled there during the Revolution.³¹ After the Revolution it seemed "as if the old states would depopulate and the inhabitants would be transplanted to the new."³² In the valley of nearly every tributary of the Ohio from the north was one or more pioneer shacks and tiny clearings. In the larger valleys considerable settlements existed. One of Harmar's officers reported a settlement of 300 families on the Hockhocking River and an equal number on the Muskingum. It is probable that the estimate was an exaggeration. There is not evidence enough to determine the exact extent of settlement. It is certain the number impressed those who witnessed the migration. The pioneers were chiefly the Scotch-Irish backwoodsmen from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina who were venturing farther afield. Their civilization was the prototype of that which spreads over parts of the great Appalachian Highland still.³³ They were then the vanguard of the American people advancing in steady strides through the forest wilderness of North America. They were not waiting for the formalities of survey and title to the lands which they claimed. Tomahawk rights had been good enough for their ancestors; such rights were good enough for them.

Some of them were beginning the rudiments of state building as their kind had been doing for many years on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina.³⁴ At Mercer's Town the people had chosen justices of the peace and begun to carry on town government.³⁵ At another place Harmar's men found a call for an election to choose members of a constitutional convention. From the fact that voters were to cast their ballots at the mouth of the Miami River, the Scioto River, and the Muskingum the area covered by the embryonic state can be fairly well defined. The promoters set

³¹ Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, VI, 135; Hulbert, *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, xxi-xxiii.

³² Olden Times, II, 499; Wm. H. Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, II, 3-5 (Cited hereafter as *St. Clair Papers*).

³³ Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, VI, 135; Olden Time, II, 442-6; The Journal of John Mathews, a nephew of Rufus Putnam, in Hildredth, *Pioneer History of Ohio*, 177-8. The latter describes a corn husking among this class, and frontier social manners.

³⁴ F. J. Turner, *Western State Making*, *American Historical Review*, I, 70.

³⁵ Mercer's Town was in Belmont County nearly opposite Wheeling. See Armstrong to Harmar, April 12, 1785, and Harmar to R. H. Lee, May 1, 1785, Goodman Transcripts; Butler's Journal in Olden Time, II, 443; *St. Clair Papers*, II, 3.

forth in the call the frontier interpretation of democracy. Their political creed was congressional non-interference and squatter rights in frontier settlement.³⁶ Similar movements south of the Ohio finally matured in statehood without Congressional interference. For example, the settlements of Kentucky became a state without a period of national control. This squatter migration into the Ohio country ran counter to a new national mode of state building, and was forced to give way.

Congress began its territorial policy by closing the western lands to occupation until they were surveyed and formally placed on sale. Intruders were to be driven off. A proclamation to this effect was published by the commissioners while they were negotiating with the Indians at Fort McIntosh, January 24, 1785. Colonel Harmar was instructed to enforce the proclamation.³⁷ The impelling motives of Congress in this first step are plain: the promises of bounty lands to the soldiers of the Revolution, the needs of a national treasury bankrupt from the burden of interest on the war debt, and the treaty obligations to the Indians were an effective combination of reasons for a new start in the settlement of the national domain. Harmar proceeded during 1785 to expel the squatters who had settled along the north shore of the Ohio and along the courses of its tributaries. In a few places the inhabitants threatened organized resistance; in all cases they gave way in the end before superior forces, sometimes sullenly, but always without bloodshed. Their cabins, such bark or log structures as there were, were destroyed. The bolder squatters were later found to have returned, and the process was repeated until the country was apparently cleared of this type of settlers. The records of the Ohio Company show no evidence of the survival of these squatters, who if they had been present would have plagued it not a little.³⁸

³⁶ St. Clair Papers, II, 5.

³⁷ St. Clair Papers, II, 3; The Olden Time, II, 340; J. A. James, Some Phases of the History of the Northwest, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings, 1913-14, 187.

³⁸ Harmar, December 5, 1784, April 25, 1785, May 1, 1785, June 1, 1785, and Armstrong to Harmar, April 12, 1785, Goodman Transcripts; St. Clair Papers, II, 3; Butler's Journal in Olden Time, II, 437, 438, 440; Journal of John Mathews in Hildredth, Pioneer History of Ohio, 183.

Harmar extended his activities against the squatters to the western French villages in 1787. At Vincennes he found that 400 squatters had taken refuge in the village among the French. The Americans were cultivating their fields in the neighborhood in armed bands in a state of perpetual warfare with roving hostile Indians. He warned them of the worthlessness of their land titles, but later events showed that he failed to terminate these particular lawless encroachments on Indian lands.³⁹ While Harmar was on the Wabash he heard that the Kentuckians were pushing onto the public lands about Kaskaskia as through an open door. From Vincennes Harmar extended his western journey to the "great American Bottom." He found that many of George Rogers Clark's followers had made "tomahawk claims" in the region. At Bellefontaine, a small village near Kaskaskia, there was a stockaded American settlement. A little farther on was another village called Grand Ruisseau inhabited by the same sort of people. His descriptions of the Illinois villages and the conditions of living are interesting, but aside from the subject at this time. At Cahokia he assembled the French inhabitants and advised them to place their militia on a better footing, to abide by the decision of their courts, and restrain the disorderly element until Congress could provide a government for them. It shocked him to find that "all these people are entirely unacquainted with what Americans call liberty. Trial by jury, etc., they are strangers to." A considerable number of other squatters were found scattered on the rich bottoms at some distance from the French villages. Everywhere Harmar warned the Americans from the lands they were occupying. For reasons not clear in the correspondence he took no steps to enforce the order. The Indians in these parts, he says, were not numerous, but "amazing fond of whiskey" and "ready to destroy a considerable quantity." Before returning to the posts on the Ohio he visited the Spanish settlements on the west bank of the Mississippi and described at some length his experience in the foreign land.⁴⁰

³⁹ Harmar, August 7, 1787, Goodman Transcripts; St. Clair Papers, II, 24, 26; Journal of Joseph Buell, Hildredth, Pioneer History, 154; Roosevelt, Winning of the West, III, 79, 235.

⁴⁰ Harmar to Knox, December 9, 1787, Goodman Transcripts; Journal of Joseph Buell, Hildredth, Pioneer History, 156; St. Clair Papers, II, 18, 30.

Harmar's well written, informing letters to the Secretary of War give the impression of a faithful, wide awake public servant. They present a continuous account of the struggle of the western army against disorder and lawless colonization. It would seem that Harmar succeeded in checking the squatter movement which had set into the Ohio country, that he drove out the adventurers along the upper Ohio River, that he only partially stopped the same movement across the lower Ohio, adventuring from the Kentucky side below the Falls, and finally failed utterly to master the divers elements in the French villages. The latter passed through eight years of near anarchy.⁴¹ The American frontiersmen in their midst made conditions worse than they would have otherwise been. Remnants of the Virginia county government survived, but with such the French had little sympathy or understanding.⁴² The French villages formed in reality city-states as independent as their classic predecessors in the Mediterranean basin had been.

Though Harmar's forces brought the squatter movement under a fair degree of control, the relations of the government with the Indians were constantly embarrassed by the borderers who broke through the line of forts along the Ohio River either for the game or the plunder to be found on the Indian lands. The struggle between the roving bands of Indians and the equally lawless whites was a ceaseless one. It would have required a vastly larger army than Harmar possessed to have effectually curbed these elements.⁴³ Moreover his efforts were nullified by the influence of British interests on the northern frontier. He constantly pressed on the War Department the view that the United States could never have the respect of the Indians as long as the British garri-sons held American posts on the Great Lake frontier.⁴⁴ Such was the situation in 1787. Harmar was trying to guard a frontier of more than twelve hundred miles which separated the white out-

⁴¹ 1782-1790.

⁴² C. W. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, Illinois Historical Collections, II, cxi, cxviii.

⁴³ Harmar to Knox, August 10, 1788, August 9, 1787, and December 9, 1787, in Goodman Transcripts; Saint Clair Papers, II, 18; Journal of John Mathews, in Hildredth's *Pioneer History of Ohio*, 177-183; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, III, 88.

⁴⁴ Harmar to Knox, June 1, 1785; to Francis Johnson, June 21, 1785; to Thomas Mifflin, June 25, 1785; to Knox, July 16, 1785, and May 7, 1786, in Goodman Transcripts; Butler's *Journal in Olden Time*, II, 502.

posts of civilization from the Indian regions. Richard Butler as Superintendent of Indian Affairs with his deputies was engaged in bribing the Indians with presents into keeping their promises, while equally generous British agents at the Lake posts were annulling the effect of Butler's work. Geographer Hutchins with his small bands of surveyors was laying out the seven ranges of townships on the upper Ohio River. Of regular civil government there was none, except the rudiments in the French city-states of the far west; of American population there was no longer any, except that which clung to the neighborhood of the French villages for protection.

On July 13, 1787, Congress passed an ordinance to give the Territory of the Northwest the needed local government. The matter had been under consideration for nearly a year.⁴⁵ The plan of government which had been adopted in 1784 needed a provision for the period in which there were not enough inhabitants to constitute a republican government. Congress was in a frame of mind in 1787 to consider a substitute for its earlier measure. Recent researches show beyond doubt that there was an organized drive of investors, holders of revolutionary bounty rights, and of state and national securities of indebtedness to force Congress to sell the western land in large lots and to accept securities of indebtedness in payment at their face value; they show further that these elements were cemented together by the fraternal bonds of a common membership in the Society of the Cincinnati and in the Union Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons;⁴⁶ and that they hastened the action of Congress in providing a government for the territory. However the Ordinance of 1787 in its final form was the result of several years deliberation. The usual emphasis in the consideration of the act is on the rudiments of a Bill of Rights and the anti-slavery clause which it contained. Yet neither of those clauses much affected the history of the Northwest. The population of the Northwest would hardly have acted differently if the restraints of the Ordinance had not existed. It is probably true that the oratory which has been expended upon them has consider-

⁴⁵ Journals of Congress, IV, 701, 702, 703, 746, 747, 751.

⁴⁶ Records of the Ohio Company, Marietta College Historical Collection, I,

ably stimulated American ideals. But the clauses of the Ordinance which provided for immediate civil government, and finally for the admission of the several portions of the territory into the national union of states on equal terms with the original states were rules which determined the course of American history. They were the fulfilment of Congressional pledges.⁴⁷ In them statesmanship of the highest order found expression.

How timely the passage of the act was is shown by the events of the succeeding months. Manasseh Cutler⁴⁸ and Winthrop Sargent⁴⁹ carried through the dual contract of the Ohio Company of Associates and the Scioto group of speculators. And before a year had elapsed Rufus Putnam⁵⁰ as superintendent of the company led the advance party which began a colonizing movement as momentous as any in American history.⁵¹ Close on these events John C. Symmes⁵² concluded a similar contract with the Treasury Board on behalf of the Miami Company, and led in person another body of home builders into the Northwest.⁵³ The leaders and large part of the colonists were Revolutionary soldiers and officers from the far east. Harmar observed that they were a very different class from the squatters whom he had been expelling.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Journals of Congress, III, October 10, 1780.

⁴⁸ Manasseh Cutler, born in Connecticut in 1742, graduated at Yale College in 1765, entered the ministry in 1770, pastor in Ipswich, Massachusetts 1771-1823, chaplain in a Massachusetts regiment during the Revolution, leading stockholder in the Ohio Company, member of Congress, 1801-05, died in 1823.

⁴⁹ Winthrop Sargent, born in Massachusetts, 1753, graduated at Harvard College, 1771, became major in artillery during the Revolution, a surveyor in the Northwest after the Revolution, stockholder and secretary of the Ohio Company, became Secretary of Northwest Territory in 1788, Governor of Mississippi Territory in 1798, died in 1820.

⁵⁰ Rufus Putnam, born in Massachusetts in 1738, cousin of Israel Putnam, apprenticed to a millwright in 1754, enlisted as a private in the French and Indian War, 1757, a practical surveyor from 1760, entered the Revolutionary army in 1775 as lieutenant colonel, became Colonel and chief engineer in the army in 1776, Brigadier General in 1783, member of the Massachusetts Legislature, leading stockholder and Director of the Ohio Company, Superintendent of the Ohio Company from 1788, judge of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territory, 1790-1796, Surveyor General of the United States, 1796-1803.

⁵¹ Cutler, *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler*, I, ch. 9; *The John May Papers*, Western Reserve Historical Society Reports, Vol. 97; *Records of the Ohio Company*, Marietta College Historical Collections, Vol. I, 13, 26.

⁵² John C. Symmes, born in New York, 1742, teacher and land surveyor, soldier in army of Revolution, member of Congress from New Jersey, 1785, 1786, leading promotor of Miami Company from 1787, judge of Supreme Court of the Northwest Territory 1788-1803, died in 1818.

⁵³ Symmes, *Circular to the Public*, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, *Quarterly*, V, 82 ff.

⁵⁴ Harmar to Knox, April 26, 1788; to Johnston, April 28, 1789, in *Goodman Transcripts*; Harmar, March 22, 1789, and November 9, 1789, in *Journal of Ebenezer Denny*, Appendix, pp. 440, 445.

The work of establishing civil government began with the passage of the Ordinance. One section of the Ordinance provided for the appointment by Congress of a Governor, a Secretary, and three judges for the temporary government of the entire Northwest. The terms and function of the officers were prescribed. The Governor was assigned the executive functions, the judges those of a judiciary. The Governor and the judges together were to form a territorial Legislative Council. This was the bridge by which the government of the territory was to pass from the rule of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs and military commandant to the first stage of republican government when there should be a population of 5,000 free males. On October 5, 1787, Congress chose its President, Arthur St. Clair,⁵⁵ Governor of the Northwest Territory, and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary.⁵⁶ Manasseh Cutler's very human and Franklin like diary bears witness to the view that St. Clair's appointment was a part of the political jobbery by which the dual purchase of the Ohio Company and the Scioto group had been put through Congress.⁵⁷ St. Clair was a large land owner in the Ligonier Valley in western Pennsylvania, and a stockholder of the Ohio Company.⁵⁸ The office of northern Superintendent of Indian Affairs, which General Richard Butler had held, was at the same time merged with that of Governor.⁵⁹ That Sargent and Parsons should be Secretary and one of the three judges, respectively, was a part of the bargain Cutler, on behalf of the Ohio Company, carried through Congress. Both were Directors of the Ohio Company. James M. Varnum,⁶⁰ another Director of the Ohio Company, and John C. Symmes, the leading stockholder in the Miami Company, were the other judges chosen

⁵⁵ Arthur St. Clair, born in Scotland, 1734, educated at University of Edinburgh, entered British army and served in America in French and Indian War, settled in western Pennsylvania in 1764, became Colonel in Revolutionary army, 1776, Major General, 1777, member of Congress, 1785-7, President of Congress, 1787, President of Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, 1783-9, Governor of Northwest Territory, 1788-1802.

⁵⁶ Journals of Congress, IV, 786.

⁵⁷ Cutler, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence* of, July 23, 26, 1787.

⁵⁸ St. Clair Papers, I, 7; Records of the Ohio Company, I, 49n.

⁵⁹ Journals of Congress, IV, 784-5.

⁶⁰ James M. Varnum, born in Massachusetts, 1749, graduated from Rhode Island College (Brown University), in 1769, began the practice of law, 1771, became colonel in Rhode Island regiment, 1775, brigadier general in Continental army, 1777, member of Congress, 1780-82, 1786-7, a stockholder and director of the Ohio Company, appointed a judge in the Supreme Court of Northwest Territory, 1787-9.

by Congress.⁶¹ It was a government in its personnel of great landlords, as colonizing enterprises in American History had generally been.

The first immigrants of the Ohio Company who arrived in the Spring of 1788 were in advance of the arrival of St. Clair, and had to provide in a measure for their own civil affairs. The Board of Directors of the Ohio Company set up a temporary local village organization in June, 1788, for the interim until the regularly constituted authorities should arrive. The Board itself acted as a local Board of Police in Marietta. It organized the inhabitants into local militia, and minutely regulated the local affairs of the busy community. A minister and a teacher were engaged, and the expenses borne by the company's revenues.⁶² But the period of extra-legal proprietary government soon passed.

Early in July one of Harmar's military barges, driven by twelve oarsmen, met Governor St. Clair at Pittsburg and bore him to the headquarters of the western army, located at Fort Harmar, across the Muskingum from Marietta. Soldiers and civilians were duly impressed by the solemnity of the first act in the drama of actually establishing Civil Government in the Northwest. The fifteenth day of July 1788, was set for the formal opening. What seemed appropriate ceremonies took place at the bower erected for the occasion in the clearing which was becoming the site of Marietta. After the formalities of the occasion St. Clair described the temporary government which he was to establish for the infancy of the territory.⁶³

The Ordinance of 1787 entrusted the Governor with the duty of laying out the territory into counties and townships, and appointing the necessary officials for local administration. The execution of this duty together with the exigencies of Indian Affairs made his office to a considerable extent an itinerant one. A proclamation of July 27, 1788, formed the region east of the line of the Cuyahoga, the Tuscarawas, and the Scioto Rivers into a county with the name of Washington. The offices well known in the

⁶¹ Journals of Congress, IV, 799, 809.

⁶² The John May Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society Reports, Vol. 97, pp. 71, 104-112; Records of the Ohio Company, I, 40; II, 6, 7, 29, 50-51.

⁶³ St. Clair Papers, II, 53-56.

Pennsylvania county system were created, and the appointments made.⁶⁴ The progress of the Miami Company between the Little Miami and the Big Miami Rivers led to the organization of Hamilton county in January, 1790. The middle settlement of the company, christened Cincinnati and made the headquarters of the western army, became the county seat.⁶⁵ St. Clair proceeded from Cincinnati on a tour of organization. At Clarksville, a small settlement forming on George Rogers Clark's tract, St. Clair tarried to make a beginning of local government, appointing a justice of the peace and the officers of the militia.⁶⁶ The French settlers farther west had petitioned for relief from their political anarchy. St. Clair undertook to meet their wishes. His party arrived in Kaskaskia in February, 1790. He found the task before him a complicated one. The settlement of land claims proved to be a difficult problem, and delayed him many months. In the end Congress gave every head of a family in the western villages, whether French or American, who was living in the region in 1783, 400 acres of land. Every man enlisted in the militia in 1790 also received 100 acres of land.⁶⁷ The poor, gentle folk of the French villages were not easily converted into an American political community. But the usual procedure was gone through. The region from the Ohio River northward along the Mississippi as far as the junction of the Little Mackinaw Creek with the Illinois River was joined together into St. Clair County, and the usual appointments from the local population made.⁶⁸ St. Clair had intended to return by Vincennes, and there to organize a fourth county, but Indian matters demanded his presence among the settlements on the upper Ohio. He accordingly sent Secretary Sargent to Vincennes to carry out that part of his program. The Wabash settlement received the county form of government, and the name of Knox, the Secretary of War. In the period of preliminary organization St. Clair used the executive proclamation freely, and encroached on the powers of the Legislative Council. Against this

⁶⁴ St. Clair Papers, II, 78-9.

⁶⁵ Ibid, II, 129.

⁶⁶ Ibid, II, 131n; Caleb Atwater, *History of Ohio*, p. 130.

⁶⁷ American State Papers, Public Lands, II, 124; C. W. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, Illinois Historical Collections, II, cxl.

⁶⁸ St. Clair Papers, I, 168; II, 136.

tendency President Washington warned him, and in characteristic stilted phrases advised circumspection in conduct in order to avoid a ground of clamor against public characters.⁶⁹

The three judges appointed by Congress constituted a Supreme Court. Judge Varnum died in 1789, and General Parsons in 1790. President Washington appointed George Turner⁷⁰ and Rufus Putman to fill the vacancies.⁷¹ The judges seldom sat together in a joint court. In practice each one held court where he was residing, with an occasional session in an outlying settlement. Symmes and Putman were the active directors of the two dominant land companies of the Northwest. Every land dispute that arose was connected with some act of one or the other of them. This meant that a judge of the Supreme Court was frequently sitting in judgment over his acts. St. Clair recommended an amendment to the Ordinance to require the presence of two or more judges in each session of the court, and to grant the privilege of appeal to the Federal Courts.⁷² The immediate result was to widen the breach which had already opened between the judges and the Governor in making laws.

The Ordinance joined the Governor and Judges in a Legislative Council whose function was "to adopt and publish * * * such laws of the original States * * * as may be necessary * * * which shall be in force * * * unless disapproved by Congress." The process of making laws was irregular and simple in the early period. The Legislative Council adopted laws until 1795 by informal conference or correspondence. In only two cases were there more than two judges joined with the Governor in the passage of a law. There does not appear to have been any regular time or place, or indeed any meeting at all for the purpose of making laws. The Governor and the Judges acted as occasion

⁶⁹ Washington to St. Clair, January 2, 1791, St. Clair Papers, II, 198.

⁷⁰ George Turner, from Virginia was appointed in 1789. Little is known of his life. He removed to the Far West in 1796, and resigned from the territorial court, in 1797.

⁷¹ In 1789 the Congress of the United States re-enacted the Ordinance of 1787, modified so as to give the power to appoint officers of the territory to the President with the Senate as required by the Constitution.

⁷² St. Clair Papers, II, 332-4, 339-40.

arose.⁷³ The members of this Legislative Council differed from the beginning over the meaning of the clause of the ordinance which defined the law-making power of themselves. The clause began with the phrase "the governor and judges, or a majority of them shall," etc. St. Clair contended that the clause meant that the governor's assent was necessary to all laws. The true meaning, he said, was that "the governor and judges, or a majority of them, provided the governor be one of that majority, shall," etc. The judges held to the equality of the four members of the Legislative Council. The Governor's view in effect gave him an absolute veto, and this at a time when the executive veto was relatively uncommon in the older states. This was only one of several controversies over the interpretation of the Ordinance of 1787. A clause of the Ordinance had authorized the Legislative Council to "adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States * * * as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances * * * which laws shall be in force * * * unless disapproved by Congress." The judges assumed that the clause might be liberally construed, and accordingly chose laws of the original States, modifying them to suit the circumstances of the frontier. St. Clair took the view that the law limited their power to the adoption without modification of laws of the States.

The issue has generally been made to illustrate the jealous care of St. Clair for the powers of the executive and reflect certain of his unpleasant traits of character. As a matter of fact his case is a strong one. He did not accuse his opponents of any ulterior motives. He conceded that the judges were by legal training better qualified to make laws if laws were to be made by the Council than he was, but he contended that their procedure was a form of loose construction not warranted by the Ordinance, that their function was to select laws made by the democratic legislatures of the States, and that otherwise the liberties of the people of the

⁷³ St. Clair Papers, II, 80n1, 167n, 275n, 311n. The Ordinances of 1788, 1790, and 1791, were published in Philadelphia in 1792 by Francis Childs and John Swaine as "Laws passed in the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River." Those of 1792 were published under the same title by the same publishers in 1794. The acts of 1795 were published in 1796 at Cincinnati by Wm. Maxwell, and are commonly known as the Maxwell code. Those of 1798 were published at Cincinnati in 1798 by Edmund Freeman, and are called the Freeman code.

Northwest would be endangered. On the one hand the judges made the law-giving body of the territory a small group of four men, in which group the promoters of the land companies were dominant; on the other the Governor made the eastern state legislatures the law-making body, leaving the Legislative Council of the territory to choose from the codes of the East. On St. Clair's side was the argument that the basis of legislation in the ultimate analysis was the representative assembly; on the side of the judges the defense that laws made for older eastern communities were seldom adapted to frontier conditions. Congress accepted St. Clair's view of the situation. It ruled that his assent was necessary to every law, and also withheld its approval from the laws which had departed in phraseology from the acts of the original States. However as the judges decided that the mere withholding of approval from territorial acts did not annul them, and continued to be guided in their courts by the laws which Congress had refused to approve, and as an attempt in Congress to expressly declare such laws null and void failed of passage, the legal situation in the Northwest was for a time confusion confounded.⁷⁴

If St. Clair was the nominal victor in the controversy over legislative procedure, he lost in the other over judicial procedure. On May 8, 1792, Congress for a second time amended the Ordinance of 1787.⁷⁵ The Judges of the Supreme Court were authorized to hold court separately, and the recommendation of St. Clair rejected. The amendment also empowered the Governor and Judges as the Legislative Council to repeal laws as well as enact them.⁷⁶

The laws of the period followed the well worn paths of American legislation for the frontier. The first act of the law makers reflected the social conditions of the time and place. All men from 16 years to 50 years of age were to be enrolled in militia companies, furnish their own arms and hold a weekly muster each Sunday morning at ten o'clock at a place near the house of worship. St. Clair advised the enrollment of all new-comers as they arrived.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ From 1792 to 1795. St. Clair Papers, II, 64, 67, 78n1, 333, 363-4; Burnet, Notes of the Northwest, p. 417.

⁷⁵ See note 71.

⁷⁶ Annals of Congress, III, 1395; Laws of the United States, 1796, II, 126.

⁷⁷ St. Clair Papers, II, 61.

He had undoubtedly gotten the idea of continuous enrollment from the measures which the Directors of the Ohio Company took in the brief interim in 1788 before his arrival in the Northwest. They had appointed an officer whose duty it was to keep a census of the settlers. Travellers or immigrants were put under obligation to report to this officer within 24 hours after arrival.⁷⁸ Nothing so simple and sensible and yet so likely to be irksome to the individualists could survive the air of license of the frontier. Few of the territorial laws have any special historical interest today. The creation of courts of justice, the definition of crime, the authorization of court houses, jails, pillories, whipping posts and stocks for the several communities were signs of the westward march of the old civilization.

The development of Civil Government in the Northwest Territory was impeded by the Indian wars. During the closing scenes of the Confederation the Indian conflict was put off by more and more lavish gifts.⁷⁹ The territorial authorities awaited anxiously the inauguration of the stronger National Government in 1789. The problem of the Indian of the Northwest was bequeathed to the administration of President Washington.⁸⁰ But the vigorous, compact settlements of the Ohio Company and the Miami Company in the Ohio Valley in 1788 and 1789 alarmed the more warlike tribes and consolidated the bolder warriors into a party of action before the new Federal Government was ready to meet the situation.⁸¹ St. Clair and Harmar battled with the hopeless task with the small and badly organized forces given them. St. Clair outlined a plan of campaign which called for a force nearly twice the number Harmar had, to be officered by regular army officers, instead of State militia officers, and which should advance in three or four divisions from the Ohio River posts.⁸² The Secretary of War thought a plan of such magnitude "would not be compatible with the public view or the public finance,"⁸³ and advised a small puni-

⁷⁸ The John May Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Reports, Vol. 97, p. 107.

⁷⁹ St. Clair Papers, II, 40, 47, 50, 90, 101.

⁸⁰ Harmar to Knox, June 14, 1788, October 13, 1788, in Goodman Transcripts.

⁸¹ Cutler, Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, I, 389; Harmar to Knox, June 9, 1789, in Goodman Transcripts.

⁸² St. Clair Papers, II, 90, 91.

⁸³ St. Clair Papers, II, 183.

tive expedition. It is apparent that the western leaders had one problem in mind, the Secretary of War another. There were two real problems. The historical question is how much by way of sacrifice the citizens of the new republic would have made for the western territory. The Secretary of War doubted the wisdom of making the call which the western authorities deemed needful. Harmar's expedition in October, 1790, was the attempt of the territorial authorities to carry out the wishes of the Department of War. Harmar led the western army, re-enforced by a small body of short term militia, from Cincinnati through the almost pathless forests to the headwaters of the Wabash and the Maumee Rivers. He burned the Indian villages and destroyed their standing crops. The immediate object of the expedition was accomplished, but at such a cost in the loss of life from counter Indian attacks that it was a moral defeat.⁸⁴ The risk of a punitive campaign 150 miles into the Indian country was repeated in 1791. The better military opinion in the Northwest had advised against such an expedition.⁸⁵ The conditions were altogether against success. St. Clair had been given the chief command. It is doubtful whether St. Clair showed the proper aggressive leadership. Certain it is that factors beyond his control made defeat inevitable. The militia arrived too late for effective cooperation. A large part of them were entirely without military experience, and therefore worse than useless. The commissariat grossly mismanaged its affairs. The only conclusion of interest to historical students is that the responsibility for the disastrous campaign should properly be distributed among the authorities concerned.

Such expeditions as Harmar's in 1790 and St. Clair's in 1791 only emboldened and infuriated the Indians. For the three years which followed, the frontier settlements were thrown into a state of siege. Settlements receded, and Civil Government was almost paralyzed. This condition endured until General Wayne had taken over the military command, and slowly and painstakingly con-

⁸⁴ Harmar, October 21, 1790, November 4, 1790, in Goodman Transcripts; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I, 104-5, 121-2; Burnet, Notes on the Northwest, pp. 127-8.

⁸⁵ The opinions of Harmar and St. Clair already cited; that of General Rufus Putnam, St. Clair Papers, II, 305; of Judge John C. Symmes, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Quarterly, V, 93.

quered the obstacles his predecessors had not been given either the time or the resources to overcome. The Battle of Fallen Timber ended an era in Northwestern History. But Jay's treaty, which withdrew the British from Detroit and placed an American garrison there, was an equally vital factor. The Indians doubly discouraged by defeat and by the apparent desertion of the British entered into the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. By that a great section of the Northwest Territory—more than half of what was to be Ohio—was finally freed from the Indian barrier to settlement and civil government.

The crisis in the history of the Northwest territory passed in 1795. The last of the several barriers to the development of an orderly colonial or territorial system had been overcome. The original backwoodsmen were from this time returning as settlers, either on the lands of Congress or of one of the land companies, in competition with adventurers from the seaboard. The Ordinance of 1786 by which the Indian trade was limited to licensed American traders was superseded in 1796 by the statute which took over the Indian trade as a government monopoly. The Federal Government for a time maintained trading posts in the Northwest, employed managers and clerks at the stores, and purchased goods for the trade. The adventure of the Government in a field ordinarily reserved for private enterprise was devised for the protection of the Indians. It was never very popular in Congress or out of Congress, and soon ran its course.⁸⁶

The informal processes of government which had marked the history of the Northwest through nearly seven years gave way to more formal ones. Emergency law-making by executive proclamation ceased. Law-making by Judges of the Supreme Court who were at the same time landlords of the territory likewise ceased. The Legislative Council formally organized as a legislative body at Cincinnati, May 29, 1795, and remained in continuous session until August 25. A general code of laws, selected as the Ordinance prescribed from the statutes of the original States, was adopted and published. A period of government by borrowed legislation succeeded. The theory was as follows: if the people of the

⁸⁶ *Annals of Congress*, V, 152, 170, 230, 241, 904, 939.

territories were not yet able to make their own laws, the next best thing would be to employ the laws of communities which were democratically organized. The laws of 1795 were almost all borrowed from Pennsylvania. A second session of the Legislative Council sat in 1798, and a second code was drafted.⁸⁷ The laws of 1798 were drawn rather evenly from the codes of the States. The larger number was adopted from Kentucky, rather naturally for its frontier conditions were more closely akin to those of the Northwest territory. The opportunity to adopt laws from Kentucky after its admission into the Union made it easier to reconcile the rule of the Ordinance with the practical conditions of a frontier, the judgment of the judges as to practical legislation with the political instinct of the Governor.⁸⁸

The further progress in the organization of Civil Government in the Northwest was along the paths prescribed by the Ordinance of 1787. The critical period of the first phase of organization had passed. The records of the Northwest Territory showed in 1798 a population of 5,000 males. St. Clair made the fact known as was his duty under the Ordinance. A representative assembly was duly chosen and assembled at Cincinnati in September, 1799. Delegates from the nine counties which by this time formed the Territory of the Northwest constituted the popular element in the Legislature, and five Councillors the second branch.⁸⁹ The event inaugurated the second step toward the creation of full republican government. The final step came as a matter of course as portions of the territory reached the mark in population set for statehood. The overcoming of one barrier after another to Civil Government in the Northwest, and the progress from one stage to another as outlined in the Ordinance of 1787 were events which put into operation the American Colonial or Territorial System. In

⁸⁷ Laws of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio. Cincinnati, 1796. St. Clair's Papers, I, 312, 353, II, 354. William Maxwell, publisher of this code, was the owner and publisher of the "Centinel of the Northwest," the first newspaper of the territory. It began appearing at Cincinnati in 1793, and continued for three years.

⁸⁸ Laws of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River, Cincinnati, 1798. Printed by Edmund Freeman. St. Clair Papers, II, 438. Freeman purchased the "Centinel of the Northwest" from William Maxwell in 1796, and changed its name to "Freeman's Journal." He continued to publish his newspaper in Cincinnati until he removed to Chillicothe where he sold it to the publishers of the Scioto Gazette.

⁸⁹ St. Clair Papers, II, 438-9.

them the United States finally mastered the problem with which the British Government began to grapple in its Proclamation of 1763.⁹⁰ But the British Proclamation, because it said in effect "thus far shalt thou go," and because its authors accompanied it by a scheme of imperial taxation, and failed to relieve the situation by compensating constructive measures of imperial organization, led straight to the Revolution. The American colonial policy after a short period of restraint opened the national domain to occupation, assured the colonizers self-government, and their political organizations equality with the original States in a National Union. Those who formulated the American System found ways of carrying out the promises in spite of formidable obstacles.

⁹⁰ Cf. C. W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*.

THE RANDOLPH COUNTY CELEBRATION

OBSERVANCE IN MEMORY OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE STATE HELD AT
CHESTER AND AT THE PIONEER CEMETERY, OVERLOOKING
THE SITE OF HISTORIC KASKASKIA, JULY 4, 1918.

The pilgrimage of Governor Frank O. Lowden, other State officers, and the Illinois Centennial Commission to Kaskaskia on July 4, stands out as one of the striking features of the Centennial celebration. The day was crowded with interest, and all who attended felt well repaid for the time spent in this observance in honor of the first capital of the State.

The official party consisting of Governor Lowden, Auditor Andrew Russel, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt and other officials and guests left Springfield in a special Pullman car early on the morning of July 4, and arrived in Chester at noon. Under the direction of the Randolph County Centennial Committee, elaborate arrangements had been made for the celebration in Chester. A parade was held during the morning, a mass meeting during the afternoon and "The Masque of Illinois" was given in the evening.

At 1:30 o'clock the official party went to the mass meeting in the high school grounds. At this meeting which was presided over by Judge A. E. Crisler, Hugh S. Magill, Jr., director of the Centennial celebration, read the Declaration of Independence; Wallace Rice, pageant writer of the Centennial Commission, read his original poem, "The Freeing of Illinois," and Governor Lowden spoke. Fifteen thousand people were present and this enormous crowd, the largest ever seen in Chester, was thrilled by the Governor's patriotic and inspiring address. Mr. William A. Meese delivered an historical address entitled, "Illinois and Randolph County."

Immediately after Governor Lowden's address the official party went to Evergreen cemetery, where, in a simple ceremony, the Governor placed a wreath of flowers upon the tomb of Shadrach Bond,

the first governor of the State. In placing the wreath, Governor Lowden said:

"It is a great privilege to be able to bring this wreath to the tomb of the first Governor of Illinois. May we not indulge the hope that the new century, just opening, may redound as greatly to the credit of Illinois as the century which Governor Shadrach Bond inaugurated."

The Invocation was offered by the Right Reverend Henry Althoff, Bishop of Belleville in the following words:

Almighty, Eternal God, we the people of the State of Illinois, assembled in these venerable historic surroundings, consecrated by labors, sacrifices and religious life of our forefathers, most humbly and devoutly invoke Thy adorable Name, on this solemn and memorable occasion of the Centennial observance of our State.

We offer Thee, Heavenly Father, our profound homage and the love of our hearts in grateful remembrance of all the benefits which Thy bountiful Hand has bestowed upon our State and its people during the past one hundred years of its existence.

We are mindful today that the history of our State is a glorious one, made such, under Thy loving Providence, by the wise administration of its rulers and the wholehearted cooperation of its people, united, loyal and virtuous, and devoted to the advancement of trade and business, of art and science, and of education and religion.

Deign, O Lord, evermore to bless our State and grant each of us the grace to be filled with the knowledge of Thy holy Truth and the love of Thy holy law.

Grant, also, Thy blessing and protection to our country, to the President and to all our fellow-citizens.

Have in Thy keeping our dear young men who have donned our country's uniform and are fighting for the honor of our country's flag. Give them strength and comfort in their trials.

We pray that the Cross of Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, planted here by the saintly missionaries and their colaborers, may be honored more and more and be the source of great blessings to the people of this State. Amen.

Then the party immediately drove to the hill above Fort Gage, where, on a platform overlooking the site of old Kaskaskia itself and near the old cemetery in which the dead of Kaskaskia lie buried, a brief program was given. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, chairman of the State Centennial Commission presided.

Mr. Gary Westenberger sang 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' and the Illinois Centennial songs. Mr. Frederick Bruegger read Mr. Rice's ode to Kaskaskia, and Governor Lowden spoke briefly.

The party then took the train and returned to Springfield.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN AT THE CENTENNIAL EXERCISES AT CHESTER

It is indeed fitting that one of the great celebrations of this Centennial year should be held in Randolph County, for here we are nearer the beginnings of Illinois, the real beginning of Illinois, than we could be at any other spot within our boundaries.

Within a very short distance from here were old Kaskaskia and Fort Gage; a little farther were Prairie du Rocher and Fort Chartres, and so here more than any other place within the State, memories sweep in from our earliest years.

It is indeed a very notable fact that for almost one hundred years within this county there was transplanted a bit of old France, and that old bit lived in peace and happiness and security with a wilderness all about it. It is almost impossible to explain the fact that here for one hundred years was a civilization when the savages roamed the woods and prairies on every hand. So today the Centennial Commission planned wisely when it planned to have this celebration here.

During all those earliest years the accounts that come to us make those days rich in romance. Little Kaskaskia, insignificant if measured by the number of its inhabitants, had life that gave color and hope to all this western land. When at the close of the French and Indian Wars Kaskaskia became a part of the British soil and the Fleur de Lis was hauled down that the Cross of St. George might be run up in its place, the character of the town changed but little. The French remained; their old mode of life

remained, as the records in your court house here disclose. For a few years Kaskaskia was nominally under English rule, but in fact the life of the city changed hardly at all.

It is just one hundred and forty years ago today that that little army of which Mr. Rice has written so beautifully, came upon the scene; an army smaller than an infantry regiment; smaller in fact than even a battalion of an infantry regiment of today, recruited largely in Virginia, and sailing down the Ohio, disembarked at Fort Massac on our southern boundary. The original purpose was to sail down to the mouth of the Ohio and up the Mississippi to Kaskaskia by your own present site of Chester. In order, however, to surprise the enemy, George Rogers Clark disembarked his force at Fort Massac, marched through the storms, through the woods and over the prairies until on July 4, 1778, he reached the environs of that old town. There he divided his army into two parts, one of which he sent into the streets of the town, the other, which he commanded in person, went to take Fort Gage, which contained, as you know, the garrison for the protection of the territory in this vicinity. Both parties were successful and again the sovereignty of Kaskaskia changed. The flag of England came down and the Stars and Stripes were run up in its place.

Thus it happened that that little expedition, smaller in numbers I have said than a single battalion of a modern infantry regiment, conquered for the United States, a vast empire; an empire larger than the territory over which the armies of the civilized world have been raging during the last four years, because after the fall of Kaskaskia it was made possible for him to go on farther up and seize Vincennes, and in that way this vast Northwest was added first to the domain of Virginia, afterwards to the Territory of the United States.

We are indeed on historic ground. I never come to Chester that I do not feel under the spell of those early days as I cannot feel anywhere else within our borders. Upon this great bluff whereon we stand today, you have a view across the Father of Waters, and over the fields on the other shore you have sweeping in from every side the memories of more than two hundred years of civilization. I never come here that I do not resolve that at

some time in my life I will come and spend a few days; I want to come here and examine at leisure the priceless records which are contained within your vaults in your court house, and to study anew and to dream over the early beginnings of what I believe to be the greatest State in the entire union of states.

So, my friends, it is not only fitting that we should be here today, it is not only doubly fitting that we should have selected our natal day for this celebration, but it is peculiarly appropriate that we should be gathered here in territory above which have floated at different times, not only the Stars and Stripes, but also the English flag and the French flag, because those three flags today are flying side by side on the greatest battle line of history, facing a common foe, a foe not only of the three countries which those flags symbolize, but a foe to all mankind, a foe to civilization everywhere the wide world round.

When this war commenced there were many of our people who could not understand all that it meant. There were those among us who said, "The war is three thousand miles away," and so it seemed at that time. We who loved peace, who have become accustomed to peace, could hardly believe that a nation in this twentieth century of the Christian era should start out to conquer the world, should set out to terrorize the world with practices of frightfulness such as the world had never seen; but as we followed the armies of the Central Empires across the Belgian frontier, we found that they had been frankly telling the truth when they taught for a half a century that nations are above the moral law, and that no ethical consideration binds them to their plighted word. They had solemnly guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, and yet, referring to the treaty in which they made that guarantee as but a scrap of paper, their hosts swept across upon the people of poor little unoffending Belgium. Then we began to see that a nation that had set out upon this career of conquest, threatened us, our independence, our security, as it threatened all the rest of the world. This war, "three thousand miles away!" I want to tell you, my friends, from the bottom of my heart, I believe this war is nearer to our hearts and our hearthstones than any war in all our past.

We have had great wars before. There are those here today who wear the little bronze button that signifies another great war that we in this country had fought. I want to tell you that, dark as were the days during the early part of that war, there was never a moment when it meant as much to the people of this land as this war which is raging around the world today. Because, at that time, no matter which side had won there would have been some kind of a country left for the people of the North as of the South. We of the North believed that that country, if we had lost, would have been fragmentary and incomplete. We know that it would have fallen far short of its glorious destiny, but there would have been some country left which we could have called our own. There would have been some part of this continent above which would have floated the American flag, some place where we could have found a home; but if this war in which we are engaged today should go against us, which God forbid, we will not even have a fragment of a country left, because every foot of our land will be under the iron heel of Prussian military despotism forevermore so far as man can see. There will be no place we can call our home. There will be no room in all the sky for the American flag, or for any other banner of liberty, because this war is the final battle between the powers of autocracy on the one hand, and the powers of self-government on the other. That is not a new battle. It has raged in all the centuries at some place or another. It is the old war between God-given right of man to rule himself or the divine right of kings, so-called, to impose slavery upon all the world. It is the old battle. Heretofore that battle has been limited to one land, to one scene of action, to one theatre of war; but today all the nations of the globe are involved. That battle is flaming all about the world. Upon the one hand are those forces which believe that mankind is incapable of governing itself; upon the other all the forces which have faith in the worthiness, in the dignity, in the ability of man everywhere to captain his own soul.

When this war is over all the earth will be one thing or the other. All the world will be free, or all the world will rest beneath the power of the cannon and the sword for at least a thousand years. That is the issue which is involved in this struggle, and that is

why on this Fourth of July people are gathering as they have never gathered before on our National Birthday to read again the mighty truths contained in the Declaration of Independence, and to resolve anew that at whatever cost of men or money, we will carry on this war for democracy, for humanity, for civilization, aye, for religion, until we shall have driven forever the black flag which Prussian autocracy has run up, from the sky of all the world.

The Fourth of July in the past has been our national holiday; today it is an international holiday. In England wherever the Cross of St. George flies, alongside of it are the Stars and Stripes, and men over there are celebrating for the first time that event which lost England her colonies. I want to remind you that it is not as inappropriate as it might seem for England to join with us in our Fourth of July celebration, because England was not a unit in its war with us. The greatest souls of England, Burke, Pitt, Fox, all of their greatest men, were with the colonies, with the colonies openly in that war. They, too, were fighting in the Parliament of England against George the Third for their own liberties, and our triumph was really the triumph of the people of England. We won not only our own independence, but we helped the liberty-loving portion of the British population to enlarge their own freedom, and the divine right of kings was buried forever in the grave with George the Third. Today England is as great a democracy. England gives the same privileges to her children that we give to ours.

It is fitting, very fitting, that in Paris also they are celebrating our Fourth of July, not only because of long friendship, but because of the views of her people now and our people now. Away back in those days which followed the solemn event which in reading the Declaration of Independence, Senator Magill has brought so clearly to your minds today, France, then it is true a monarchy, sent LaFayette to our shores to assist us to win our liberties, and who can tell but for the assistance of the French soldiers and sailors, what the result of our Revolutionary War would have been.

Not only did that help us to win our liberties, it helped France again to win hers. The Lilies of France which LaFayette brought across the seas, which represented the Bourbon dynasty, were fol-

lowed in a few years by the French tri-color, and that banner speaks of the equal rights of mankind just as eloquently as does our own, or as does the modern Cross of St. George.

Our Revolution, therefore, not only brought independence to America, but under its indirect influence it helped the great liberty loving statesmen of England to become masters of her future. It enabled France to throw off its tyranny and to erect in its stead a republic. As these three flags have floated, one after another above old Fort Gage, a few miles from your door, so they have influenced one another from the dawning of our history, until today all three, representing the God given inalienable rights of man as against the spurious divine right of kings, have a right, standing for the same great things, to float side by side on the Western front.

You of Randolph County, you for one hundred and forty years—an even one hundred and forty years—have lived secure and free and independent underneath the Stars and Stripes, so I can understand the sacrifices which you are making. I can understand the spirit of this meeting, because you know that now the final assault upon the independence and upon the supremacy of that flag is being made along the most stupendous battle fronts of history. Oh, my friends, nothing matters unless we win this war. I can't understand, to save my life, how people can at this time give any thought to any consideration of all the future beyond the winning of this war. If we do not win it, the future matters not to any of us. If we should lose, if we should come under the domination of the Imperial Court at Berlin, then I say, and I say with all soberness, that the only Americans to be envied are those who are filling foreign graves and who have given up their lives that our country may live. Rather, infinitely rather, should any man who loves his wife or child, prefer to sleep among the flowers of Flanders or France than to survive this war unless we shall win a victory before it ends.

I have seen a lot of your boys; I have seen boys from all over the State, because it has been a part of my duty to visit the camps where Illinois boys are stationed. I have seen the wonderful improvement that those boys have made from week to week. As I have looked into their clear eyes and upstanding figures I have

felt a thrill of pride in Illinois I had not known before, because I want to tell you that your honor and your future are safe in the hands of those young men. If you could only see them as I have seen them you would have no feeling of surprise at the news which comes from that portion of the battlefront held by American soldiers. Our men fight not only with their brawn, but they fight with their brains. They fight in the knowledge that they are fighting for the dearest things in all the world; and that makes an army invincible when brute force fails.

I want also to say to the mothers, because the mothers always have the hardest part, that you need have no fear for your boys. They go proudly, they go happily; they know that even though they fall their life will be more rounded and complete, will be a finer life in every way than though in piping times of peace they had lived a half a century more.

You need not fear for the conduct of those boys, I want to tell the mothers. The other day I received a paper published by our expeditionary forces in France, and found that the main item of interest in the life of our soldiers at the front today is adopting some little orphan boy or girl of some patriot who has given up his life for liberty. Different companies, different individuals, are saving from their salary in order that they may raise a fund to take care of those little boys and girls of sacred France. When your boys are thinking about the orphan children of our Allies, they are not going to do anything to disgrace you in their conduct in any way. I want to tell you they are safe.

We won't have as many young men when this war is over, but we will have a finer lot of young men than we have ever had in our past.

Just one other thought, then I am going to close. You know, things were not going very well with us before the war. We were getting to be a very selfish people; we were thinking of material things only. Discipline was breaking down everywhere, breaking down in the home, in the school and in the church, aye! and in the nation. We were getting to look upon our citizenship as of no special value; we were coming to regard it as something which imposed duties upon the country toward us, and no duties upon us

toward our country. We were becoming very fond of the flesh-pots. The old idea of brotherhood which your fathers and forefathers in the days of old Fort Gage knew so well was in some way slipping away from us. The old ideas of neighborliness which we knew when the country was newer were disappearing. We were living within ourselves too much. The Master's definition of who are neighbors had entirely escaped us so far as our practice went. Maybe this war was needed. At any rate I see a new light shining in the eyes of the men and women, aye! and the boys and the girls of today that I have not seen for years. We were thinking too much of the things that you touch and handle and too little of the spiritual things of the world, and now that we are engaged in a conflict in which the material threatens to overwhelm all the spiritual forces of the universe, we are having a revival in our hearts and minds of the old ideals which our fathers and our mothers taught us and believed. When this war is over I have the faith to believe with all my heart that we are going to have a better country and a better civilization than we have had in all our past. I believe that under the providence of God we shall not have made these sacrifices in vain. I believe, just as I know that victory must finally come to our armies because there is still a God in the Heavens, so do I believe with equal faith that when the war is over we are going to have a better world than we have had in all the past.

To you people of this historic old county, one of the few above which have floated in succession these three great flags of democracy, to you, who are the favored above most of the people of our State, I think I can say, Illinois, which is just closing a century of glorious history in this Centennial year here, and in the first years of her second century, is going to be worthy of her historic past.

THE FREEING OF ILLINOIS

BY WALLACE RICE

Where brims the broad Ohio as it foams adown the Falls
Our Long Knives haste, grim, iron-faced, when free Vir-
ginia calls;

Kentucky's here on her frontier with tall men lean and
dark

And, best of all for desperate work, their chief, George
Rogers Clark.

Beyond the broad Ohio lie the lands of Illinois
Whence British bribes send savage tribes to ravage and
destroy.

As fierce allies they gain supplies, run forth to scalp and
slay

Our settlers, women, youth, and babes, in merciless
affray.

Across the broad Ohio come our frontiersmen and Fate.
No martial pride struts at their side, but Liberty elate
Smiles in their eyes as on the skies fair Freedom's banner,
blows,

The starry sign of victory o'er tyrants and their woes.

Along the summer prairies green with grasses tall and
sweet

Our sevenscore men, sevenscore and ten, march on with
flying feet,

A thousand miles between their files and their Virginian
leas,

A hundred miles and twenty to the fortress they must
seize.

Six days along the prairie speed our hardy bordermen
They lose their way—lose near a day in finding it again;
And rest their flight that July night when, only two years
gone,

The great bell boomed to tell the world of Freedom
marching on.

On Independence Night they bring Kaskaskia in view.
Before them lies upon the rise Fort Gage against the
blue—

A fort whose name's a thing of shame borne late in
Boston Town

By him who ordered murder at Old Concord for the
Crown.

Over the evening river Clark is ferried with his band.
With silent stride they quick divide when once they gain
the land,

Himself to creep upon the keep, and find the postern gate
Ungarded. Black the entrance, but he does not hesitate.

Upon the astonished commandant, that grey French rene-
gade

Rocheblave by name, with his shrewd dame, Clark comes
with shining blade.

He curses Clark; and strikes a spark, for out he goes in
chains.

A prison in Virginia he gets for all his pains.

Meanwhile our bold frontiersmen surge on down the vill-
age street.

They take it hot without a shot in overthrow complete;
And then apace they gain the grace of matron, maid, and
man—

France then, as now, is faithful friend; when was a better
plan?

To loud huzzas our drummers drum and every fifer pipes
As down they drag the British flag and hoist the Stars
and Stripes.

Forever freed by Clark's bold deed from tyrants over-
blown

These lovely lands of Illinois become Virginia's own.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN AT FORT
GAGE HILL, JULY FOURTH, 1918

Ladies and Gentlemen: This is indeed historic ground on which we stand. While the main exercises of the day were held at Chester, it is exceedingly appropriate that we should pause here long enough on this beautiful afternoon to pay our little tribute to the pioneers of Kaskaskia in this great American bottom.

It is difficult for us of Illinois to realize that our written history extends so far back. It is hard for us to realize that long before George Washington was born we had a civilized and well ordered and happy and a joyous community within our border, and yet, that is the fact. It is difficult for us to realize the heroism of the men who founded these first towns and villages in Illinois—Joliet, Marquette, LaSalle and Tonti. In fact, there never has been a braver, a more heroic, nor a more unselfish band of pioneers than the pioneers we associate with Illinois' earliest history.

The motive of the first was to bring the blessings of Christianity to the savages who then inhabited Illinois, and just as in those far off days, more than two hundred years ago, the motive of the first visitors to Kaskaskia was humane, unselfish and for the benefit of others, so it is fitting that at this time we should celebrate their virtues when their descendants are engaged again in a war, not for themselves, but for others, and it is in the spirit of Father Marquette, of Joliet, of LaSalle, of Tonti, and of many others I might name, that more than a million of our men today are across the seas fighting under the allied banners of the three lands which have at one time or another held jurisdiction over old Kaskaskia.

It is a great story as well as a beautiful one. I like to think of the long-ago days when life was bright and full and free in Kaskaskia. I like to think of that visit of Lafayette when he came down the river and disembarked at Kaskaskia, and when he was met by the son of his old friend and comrade, Alexander Hamilton, who had been sent by the Governor of the State to give welcome to the old friend of his father. I like to think of the hours that he spent here, and one of the most delightful stories in all our

annals is the story that the writers of that time give of Lafayette's visit.

The romance that shines in Illinois history more largely centers about this spot whereon we stand today than any other spot within the borders of our State. And as we today are celebrating the close of one glorious century of Statehood in Illinois, let us have the confidence that with the aid of our boys across the sea, we are going to conquer the perils that beset us and embark upon another century of equal glory and of equal usefulness to the world.

KASKASKIA: AN ODE

BY WALLACE RICE

Read by Frederick Bruegger at the Pioneer Cemetery, Fort Gage Hill, Randolph County, July 4, 1918.

How weak, how futile, seem mere words today

When every swing of Fate's great pendulum
Beats to the roar of giant guns 'neath grey

Astonished heavens thunderous and grum!

How idle, words, when hour by hour such deeds

Of courage and self-sacrifice cry out

As draw our wondering tears, and throbs and bleeds

The Nation's spirit in our warriors' shout!

Along the seas, where coward murderers hide,

Our sailors steadfastly keep open path;

On desperate miles our soldiers constant bide,

The instruments of God's Eternal Wrath;

And we speak words! Yet they are words of cheer.

Beyond, tho' ruined now and desolate,

Sleeps old Kaskaskia, and we shall hear

Of destiny thro' this evangel of our State.

The urgent Mississippi round her rolls

Adown this Valley of a Continent.

Herein today how many a million souls

Are reaping generous harvests of content!

The gift of summer sun and rippling flow
Thro' fruitful hours of free men's willing toil,
The comfort of the world is in this glow
From league on league of fructifying soil.
See how the emerald plumes of corn unfold
Bring in their satisfying sheen and swing,
Forthgrowing fair from tiny grains of gold
In nature's miracle of bourgeoning;
But yonder was a greater marvel wrought
By friendliness and spiritual health
Where honor, chivalry, and truth were taught
And lived by the forefathers of our Commonwealth.

Look up and down our Valley's visioning;
Gaze east and west with comprehending eyes!
Northward our inland waters lilt and sing;
And south the Gulf is blue 'neath tropic skies;
Far to the east vast mountain ranges stay
The Valley; toward the sunset its arrest
Is on the snow-clad peaks a world away;
How glorious a growth is here, how blest!
On multitudinous plains between, which smile
Upon the affluents of the river there,
The hopes of all the world have domicile:
Men for its war-hosts, bread to lighten care.
A score of States now rise, of queenly mien,
Sacredly sworn to do their utmost deed.
For Liberty—from Illinois demesne
Arise, for on yon isle was sown their single seed.

In kindness, to dull the edge of war,
Kaskaskia was born beside the stream.
Athwart the terrors these broad prairies bore
The Cross sent thence its mild compelling gleam.
There, first in all this Valley, on those leas
Our race found resting place for wandering feet.

Worshipped our God and published His decrees
Thro' lengthening years, and peace was lasting, sweet.
There lay the city, now in ruin laid
And all its beauty fled and far away,
Wherein the Valley saw the prelude played
To its tremendous drama. Tho' astray,
The world comes back to confidence in God
And Man, finding here inspiration sure
For faith renewed while passing 'neath His rod,
Leaving our heavenly hope and human trust secure.

The fathers of our Illinois lie here
Beside us, gratefully remembered still.
High their devotion, free their hearts from fear,
Earnest their wish to know and keep God's Will.
Homely their virtues, arduous their hours
Of labor, but its fruits and flowers were theirs;
Greed and injustice and a despot's powers
Theirs to despise, and heard their simple prayers.
For poverty they knew devoid of dread despair,
Concordant spirits touching happiness,
With little mirths and gayeties to share
In freedom from the greater world's distress.
Give them all honor! Far from their own land
Their profitable lives on history's page
They wrote without repining, and shall stand
Blessed thro' all time by us who hold their heritage.

Romance shone here in many a deed and name.
LaSalle and Tonti o'er those waters wend,
Discoverer and statesman crowned by fame,
Not least because he won so true a friend.
Then Seventeen Hundred dawned. Good Pere Marest
Rose with it. This was centuries ago.
The Illini flock hitherward to pray,
Hearing The Word, and safe from every foe.
A pleasant scene it was, now worn so bare:
The virgin forest virgin prairie met

Below, with swaying trees in summer air
And fragrant flowers in tossing grasses set;
With nuts and fruits and berries ruby bright,
The bison and his herds, the elk and deer,
Carolling birds—'twas peace with plenty dight,
An earthly paradise upon a far frontier.

The thirst for gold, the search for sudden gain,
The Mississippi Bubble and its lures,
Hunger for empire, and old Slavery's pain,
Here frowned, here passed, where Time alone endures.

Hereby the royal walls of Fort de Chartres
Set forth the slender stage whereon we see
Reflected ray by glittering ray the part
The Sun-King played of radiant majesty.
Thence D'Artaguet his piteous army leads,
De Villier goes to conquer Washington;
And Braddock falls, what time Kaskaskia speeds
Her silvery lance toward the rising sun.
Then, then at last the fluttering flag of France
Falls, as may sink the day adown the west,
And gone our Golden Age and old romance,
To rise in this new morning with new meaning dressed.

How distant seems today the gleeful France
That danced so long ago to melodies
Upon yon sward, as tho' fond circumstance
Found in this newer West Hesperides!
Yet golden lilies here our hearts rejoice,
Smiling to azure heavens as of yore,
And wistfully reechoes here the voice
Of the unconquered France whom we adore,
Our Mother still, else were we motherless.
Here o'er an empire ruled her brave and fair;
A jewel in a jocund wilderness
Their capital—yon village now laid bare.
A promise was it, and a Providence,
With every memory ringing sound and true.

How loyally and with what reverence
This venerable fealty we here renew

A while, a little while, old Britain comes
A conqueror here and floats her bannered flame
Until Virginia rolls victorious drums
As "Liberty!" her frontiersmen proclaim!
The Northwest here is made American
Forever, as Fate thunders slowly on;
Tho' only now discerned the Almighty's Plan
Enfolded in these ages we thought gone:
Dead is the day when Tyranny and Hate
Can Britain and her free descendants part
Or France from England hold—how brave the Fate
Uniting as one country with one heart
The untainted origins of Illinois!
The tyrants on the Thames and by the Seine
Time's slow inevitable hands destroy,
And there, as here, today the sovran people reign.

Here, on this distant and secluded sod—
In little, purposes the greatest run—
We see the everlasting arm of God
Guarding the empires that lost here, and won.
Virginia's word, the war-cry of the free,
"Thus ever unto tyrants!" trumpets far
Across the seas to herald Victory.
And eyes war-weary glimpse the morning star.
To thrust a maddened monster to his knee,
Her swift blade drawn and scabbard thrown away
Staunchly beside us battles Italy.
Who gave us Tonti in our dawn of day.
And we, to whom our Illinois is dear,
Hail all these ancient friends with newer pride
In the Great Cause that casteth out all fear,
Our God's Eternal Cause in Freedom's glorified.

THE CENTENARY OF THE PROMULGATION OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, AUGUST 26, 1918

The celebration of the anniversary of the adoption of the first Constitution of Illinois, was held at Springfield on August 26, 1918, and was a memorable occasion. Thousands of people from all sections of the State came to Springfield to participate in the celebration and the only drawback to the complete enjoyment of the day was the fact that it was possible for only a portion of the enormous crowd of visitors to get within hearing distance of the speakers at the afternoon meeting or to get inside the Coliseum at the Fair Grounds in the evening to see the presentation of "The Masque of Illinois."

However, more than twelve thousand people crowded into the Amphitheater at the afternoon meeting to hear Theodore Roosevelt, and at least eight thousand were accommodated in the Coliseum in the evening.

A luncheon was given at the St. Nicholas Hotel at noon which was attended by Governor Lowden, Colonel Roosevelt and several hundred officials and guests.

Former President Roosevelt was the principal speaker at the afternoon meeting and he delivered a rousing patriotic address. He was introduced briefly by Governor Frank O. Lowden, who called attention to the significance of the occasion. Bishop Samuel Fallows delivered the invocation. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, chairman of the Illinois Centennial Commission, called the meeting to order and spoke briefly in introducing Governor Lowden, who presided.

The presentation of Mr. Rice's "Masque of Illinois," in the evening was most elaborate and the immense audience was greatly pleased with the production. Colonel Roosevelt praised the cast, Frederick Bruegger, the pageant master, Edward C. Moore, composer, and Mr. Rice, the author, very highly and declared the "Masque" one of the most interesting entertainments of the kind he had ever seen.

Mrs. Roosevelt accompanied Colonel Roosevelt to Springfield and attended the evening performance.

Miss Florence Lowden, daughter of Governor Frank O. Lowden, acted the part of "Illinois," and a cast composed of prominent Springfield and Central Illinois people had the leading parts.

Groups were furnished by organizations and altogether more than a thousand persons participated. A huge stage, ninety feet across was erected at the west end of the Coliseum and seats were arranged for eight thousand persons in the audience.

The stage was covered with green boughs and carpeted in green giving it the appearance of a woodland scene.

A great deal of praise is due Mr. Frederick Bruegger, pageant master, and Mrs. Bruegger who ably assisted him, for the efficient manner in which they trained the great cast for this presentation, and for the repetition of "The Masque" in October.

In introducing Governor Lowden as the chairman of the day Dr. Schmidt said:

"One hundred years ago in vanished Kaskaskia a score of chosen representatives of the people were collected to enact a declaration of principles under whose bounds and injunctions this commonwealth of Illinois was to be organized and to live.

Though many important principles for the government of the new state were fixed by the Articles of the old Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and by the laws of the Union of the States, wide limits notwithstanding were given to these pioneer constitution makers to mold the course of statehood. It was theirs to choose between a rigid form of a non-progressive government and one reflecting the then advancing political ideals. Today is the centenary of the happy completion of their labors by their adoption of the first Constitution of Illinois. We are here in grateful acknowledgment of their work well done.

"Through that Constitution, for the duties of the chief executive of Illinois a first governor—an able man—was elected. Through one hundred years Illinois has been served faithfully by his successors, but by none with more patriotism, with more devotion, with more efficiency than the present incumbent, the well-beloved leader of all true Illinoisans, who will address you and be the chairman of the meeting. I have the honor of introducing Governor Lowden as Chairman.

In introducing Colonel Roosevelt, Governor Lowden spoke briefly as follows:

"A hundred years ago at almost this very hour, the people of the little village of Kaskaskia, the then capital of the State, celebrated the adoption of our first Constitution. The great question that involved the discussion, which preceeded the adoption of that Constitution was slavery. Slavery was finally prohibited. The rights of all men therefore were the chief subjects in controversy even at that early date. In the hundred years of our glorious history that since have come, the high peaks have always been those points about which a discussion over the rights of man has taken place. Today as we celebrate our hundredth anniversary, the whole world is aflame over the same question of human rights as against the claim of privilege. Whether or not our next century shall be as replete with achievements and progress as of the past, depends upon whether or not we shall win this mighty war.

"Today it is fitting—it is more fitting than anything else I could name—that the greatest of all American partisans of the rights of common man, the average man, should be here to bring his message at the close of our first hundred years and at the opening of the second.

"It is my great privilege and my honor to introduce to you a private citizen who has held the most exalted position in all the world and yet who, as a private citizen, reigns in the hearts of the American people as he never reigned before.

Colonel Roosevelt received a great ovation and he delivered a vigorous address on patriotic and historical lines.

ADDRESS BY COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Governor Lowden, Mr. Chairman, Bishop Fallows, and you, my Fellow Americans, Men and Women of Illinois: I am honored by the chance to speak to you today. And, friends, on this occasion of the Centennial of Illinois' admission to statehood, it is a matter of good augury that we speak under a governor whom we all know has deserved what Dr. Schmidt has said of him. The American people will have had a mighty triumphant next century,

if, on the occasion of the bi-centenary of Illinois, we have such public servants as you, Governor, to preside over our destinies.

Now, friends, I come here today to speak primarily of the things that are closest to the souls of all of us. For this is a great crisis at which time the men and women of the nation think not of little things, but of the great fundamental matters that most intimately concern all of us. We are passing through the third of our great national crises. In this case it is a part of a world crisis, the like of which has never been seen before.

I know that the rest of you will not begrudge my saying a special word of greeting to the men who wear the button that shows that over half a hundred years ago they showed their troth by their endeavor.

Now, men, we are here today under that flag. We are citizens of a great and proud nation only because those men and the men like them in their youth cast aside everything else for the chance of death in battle for the right. As we look back at those years, keener and brighter grows the fame of the men who fought for the union and for liberty. And today from throughout our borders men in khaki have gone in their youth to venture everything with a proud and gallant recklessness of what may befall them so that you and I, you men and women here, that we and our children may continue to hold our ideals high among the nations.

I want to say just a word as to the form of advertisements which I see here, "Square Deal. Give us a Chance." Now, friends, I regard one form of advertisement for good causes, which I see here in Springfield, just as I have seen it in New York. There are a dozen A-1 movements in all of which I am interested. I am immensely interested in the Thrift Stamp Saving Campaign; in the Food Saving Campaign; in the Conservation Campaign; in the Food Growing Campaign, but I always object strongly when I see any picture or any advertisement that "food will win the war," or "money will win the war," or "savings will win the war." Tell the truth. Saving food will *help* win the war. Savings will *help* win the war. Money will *help* win the war. But the war will be won, as the war was won at the time of Abraham

Lincoln, by the fighting men at the front. Everything else is only auxiliary to the fighting men at the front. Shame, triple shame to us who stay at home unless we do all those things, unless we buy Liberty Bonds, buying to the limit, unless we subscribe to the Red Cross and all kindred organizations, unless we buy Thrift Stamps, unless we save food. Do all those things, but don't get conceited about it. Recollect that when you have done all, you have just done a half of what you ought to do to put your strength back of the men at the front. Stand by the men at the front. And remember that the only people who have fulfilled the full measure of their devotion to the country at this time are the men who have gone and the women who have bravely bade them go to fight for their country. There is only one person I put as high as I do the soldier and that is the soldier's wife or mother who stands by him; she who takes care of the house, and takes care of the baby, and does whatever can be done at home. If she does her full duty and sends her husband or her son away with a smile, even though her heart is breaking, and writes him cheerful messages, I respect her as I respect the soldier. I have no use for the soldier who runs or for the woman who whines. Recollect, you women, that if you make it hard for your sons and for your husbands, if you fail in your duty, you are acting just as ill by the country as would the man who fails his country on the field of battle. Bear yourselves as gallantly as the gallant boys you have sent to the front. Remember that is the duty of all of you.

Now the immediate duty of the hour is two-fold. In the first place, to insist upon a 100 per cent Americanism throughout this land. In the next place, to speed up the war and win it at the earliest possible date.

In the first place about Americanism. This is merely another way of insisting that we are a nation proud of our history, proud of our past and proud of our present; that we are a nation, not a polyglot boarding house. Unless we have a nation we won't have anything to fight for. Nobody fights for a boarding house. If we treat this country or permit it to be treated as a land into which people from thirty different old world countries crowd and squeal and struggle for the best place at the trough, while all their allegi-

ance is to some land over seas, if we do that, we have no country at all. There isn't any possibility of a divided allegiance. Either a man is all American or he is not an American at all. Any kind of an alloy to loyalty makes it utterly valueless. At this time the man of German origin who says that he is loyal to Germanism, to Deutschum, although he is not loyal to Germany, to Deutschland, is making a distinction without a difference. You cannot be loyal to Germanism and Americanism at the same time any more than you can be loyal to Germany and to the United States at the same time. Germanism is incompatible with Americanism. If a man has the slightest loyalty to Germany at this time he is disloyal to the United States. There is no half way to it, of any kind or sort. It is exactly as it was at the time of the Civil War. You had to be all for the Union or all against the Union. If you were half Union and half Secesh, you were kicked out by both sides. Isn't that so? (An old soldier: "Sure.") It is just the same thing now. You have got to be all one thing or all the other. If you live in the United States you are not entitled to be anything except an American, pure and simple, and nothing but an American. If any man still looks back and wants to be a half or a quarter or a tenth something or somewhere else, send him back to that somewhere else. There can be in this country loyalty to but one flag—the flag of the United States. Loyalty to any other flag is disloyalty to that flag. And when I say any other flag, I mean not only the flag of any foreign nation, but I mean the red flag of anarchy or the black flag of international socialism. If any man follows the red flag or the black flag here, put him out. Make him go wherever the red flag or the black flag is, but don't let him stay here. And more than that, I want to have a man be United States and stand by the flag of the United States and talk United States. I am perfectly well aware that you can talk United States and still talk treason. At any rate we know what you are talking about in a case like that; whereas, if you are talking some language we don't know, then you can talk pretty much anything without our knowing it. We have room in this country, permanent room, for but one language—the language of the Declaration of Independence; the language of Wash-

ington's Farewell Address; the language of Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech and second Inaugural—the English language. All other languages that are spoken here or printed or used in newspapers should be used only during the transition period, a period to be established by law, after which the newspaper shall be printed in English. In our schools there is only one language that should be used, and in our primary schools only one that should be taught—the English language. In our upper institutions of learning, study German or any other modern language as you do one of the ancient languages, but study it as a foreign language.

Let me illustrate what I mean in my own case. I have a right to talk against hyphenated Americans, because my ancestry is so varied that if you want to express me by a hyphen you will have to use seven of them. About 225 years ago certain Dutch traders came to the mouth of the Hudson and some German peasants (I have some German blood in me, but I am straight United States, however), to the Schuylkill, and some English and Welsh Quakers and Scotch and Huguenots or French Protestants who had been driven out of France because in France the Catholics persecuted the Protestants, and the Irish Catholics who had been driven out of Ireland because in Ireland the Protestants persecuted the Catholics. Their children grew and spoke the same language. If they had not spoken the same language they could not have married one another. A young man could not have proposed in one language to a young lady speaking another. And, if they had not married one another, I would not be here.

Sometime ago I spoke in Wisconsin and in Minnesota. I had with me two Illinois citizens, friends of mine, straight Americans, Mr. Otto Butts of Chicago and Judge Harry Olson of Chicago. Mr. Butts' father and mother were born in Germany and Judge Olson's father and mother were born in Sweden. I have told you of my ancestry already. The three of us were Americans and nothing else. At the meeting, the Judge presided and Mr. Butts introduced me and then I made a speech. Now suppose the Judge, when he presided at the meeting, had spoken in Scandinavian and Mr. Butts when he introduced me, had spoken in German, and that I had then burst into eloquence in low Dutch. You would have

needed three translators for every member of the audience. We all spoke English because you have to use one language and that is the language of the country itself.

Nobody is obliged to come to this country, but if he comes, he is to take our constitution and our flag and our language. If he does not want to do that he can go straight back to the land from which he came.

Now having said that I don't know how I could say it with any more emphasis than I have; whatever other defect of character may have been lodged against me, at least I have not pussy-footed—of one side of Americanism, I wish with no less emphasis to say that the other and the equally important side of Americanism is the imperative duty of treating all men who show their good faith in Americanism as on an absolute equality with everyone else without regard to their creed, their birthplace or their national origin. In this crisis, since our people became fully awake (I think our people remained asleep quite a time. I did my best to wake them up) the great majority of Americans of German origin have shown themselves as aggressively and absolutely and singlemindedly American as the citizens of any other stock. And when that is the case it should be recognized as being a high crime against the American spirit to fail to honor those men by putting them on an equality with the rest of us.

I can illustrate what I mean by referring to the Civil War. In the southern states, the bulk of the men joined the Confederate forces, but there were plenty like Farragut who stood for the flag. We are the fellow countrymen of men of German blood, in whole or in part, who have stood by the flag in this war, Americans, who, if we do not recognize them as such, we damn ourselves for not doing. Let me give you an example. At the front in the flying corps, two of the best American flyers are Rickenbacher and Meisner, both of them of German origin. One of them an ace. The more of that kind of men we get into our army the quicker we will get to Berlin.

Let me give you a couple of other examples. The other day I spoke at Martinsville, Indiana. I was introduced by Mayor Schmidt, of German origin. He has two boys overseas in the

army. One of them was in my boy Archie's regiment and was wounded about the same time that Archie was wounded. They were lying in the same hospital. Do you think they are not comrades? Don't put it to them if you don't think so. Major Simmons of the Red Cross told me the other day, just after he had returned, that he went into the hospital to see my boy Archie. The next cot to Archie's was occupied by a young fellow from Massachusetts, and the next cot to him was occupied by a young lieutenant. A bullet had gone through the point of his heart. They had to keep him there for eight days without moving a finger until the muscle could heal, because, if he had moved, it would have meant instant death. He was feeling pretty good when Major Simmons came to see him. Simmons began talking to him, getting messages for his family and for a young lady who did not belong to the family. He finally asked him his name and the boy turned with a grin and said, "My name is von Holzenheimer." Wouldn't the Huns feel good if they knew they had got a man with that name? There were three boys lying alongside in the hospital, wounded in the same cause. All three were of different race origin. All three Americans and nothing but Americans. And infamy shall be the portion of any one who tries to sunder one from the other two.

And remember—I wish to speak this to that small body of men of German origin who have tried to remain American and something else, who have tried to be half American and half German—the Germans, the newspapers and the officers in Germany feel more bitterness toward the Americans of German origin than they do toward any other people here. They are not placated in the least by any half-and-half loyalty. You cannot make yourself an ally of Germany except by doing Germany's bidding. If you act sulky, half and half, a little American, but not very much American, its only effect is that you do not remain American at all, and you do not become a German, because you lose all place in their country. Do one thing or the other. If you stay in this country, become wholeheartedly and absolutely and without reservation an American. If you are not prepared to do that, then

get out of the country and go back to Germany. That is all, one thing or the other.

There is another point in connection with Americanism. There has recently been some talk about internationalism as a substitute for patriotism. It was talked about and indulged in by the Russian Bolsheviks a year ago, when they said they loved all mankind. They have shown their love by cutting the throats of 30,000 of their brothers and by betraying the free nations of the earth and by throwing Russia, bound and helpless, under the feet of German autocracy. Internationalism stands to nationalism exactly as the love of one's self stands to the love of one's family. It is an invaluable addition, but a mighty poor substitute. We are American nationalists. We intend to do justice to all other nations, but the professed internationalists during the past four years have played Germany's game exactly as the professed pacifists played it during the same time.

And I wish to say how glad and proud I am that we should sit here and listen to the invocation by a Bishop who wears the button of the Loyal Legion, because, when the choice was between peace and righteousness, he stood for righteousness. Whenever you meet a man who tells you that he loves other countries as much as he loves his own, treat him as you would the very affectionate gentleman who tells you that he loves other women as much as he loves his own wife. Professional internationalism stands toward patriotism just exactly as that form of diffused affection stands towards an honorable family life. I like a good neighbor. I want him to treat me squarely. If any neighbor tells me he loves me as much as he does his own wife and children, I distrust him. If he does not care more for his family than he does for me, I am dead sure he cares very little for me. I want to have nothing to do with that kind of a man.

American pacifism has been the tool and ally of German militarism and in just the same way the professional internationalist has been the foe of nationalism of America. For the moment the pacifists and the internationalists are moderately quiet, but just as soon as peace comes they will begin to be noisy again. It is only four years and a month ago that those men were scream-

ing that there was no more chance for war; that the capitalists would not allow it; that the socialists would not allow it. And they said that men like myself were poor maniacs because we asked this country to prepare, and they went on and said during the next three years, up to a year and a half ago, "No, don't prepare; if you prepare you will have war; keep harmless; if you are harmless enough, nobody will hurt you." Well, we tried it. We kept unprepared and we got into war. We tried being harmless and we are still busily engaged in trying to undo our harmlessness, notably in the matter of flying machines. We have been exceedingly harmless in air craft.

Now that is what the pacifists said in the past. Don't trust them in the future. A pacifist does not keep you out of war. Even a pacifist will fight if you kick him long enough. The trouble is, when he does fight, he isn't any earthly good. He has not been trained so as to make himself effective. I asked for preparedness, not because I wished war, because I did not wish war. Events have proved that I was right, for, if we had prepared our strength in advance, the chances are a hundred to one that no nation would have invited a trial of strength with us.

Now, when peace comes, do not trust the pacifists. They are the enemies of righteousness. Do not trust the internationalists. They are the enemies of nationalism—the enemies of Americanism. Do not trust the illusionists, the people who promise you peace with ease, with the absence of effort, and who say if you would only let your heart grow timid and your muscles flabby, you will be doing the Lord's will. That is a poor type of Christianity, isn't it? Not the Peter Cartwright type.

Take the view, you women, that you expect your husbands, the fathers of your children to take. You expect them to be good neighbors, but you expect them to have their first thought for their wives and children, for their mothers. Isn't that so? Same way with a man in international matters. Treat every other nation squarely. Behave toward every other nation as you would wish every other nation to behave toward you. But remember, if you do not treat this nation squarely first, you cannot be any good to any other nation.

Let us accept any reasonable proposal when peace comes, whether it be called a League of Nations, or a League to Enforce Peace, or by some other title, any reasonable proposal upon which we can in good faith act, and which really does offer some chance of lessening the probability of future wars and diminishing their area, but never let us forget that a promise that any such league or other piece of machinery will bring about permanently the abolition of war is a sham. No machinery will avail until by degrees the heart of man is changed. Use the machinery. Take hold of it, but treat it not as a substitute for, but as a supplement to, preparing our own souls and bodies to protect our own hearth-stones in time of need.

Agreements! Every agreement that the mind of man could devise had been called into being to protect Belgium from Germany, but when the hour came that the ruthless Prussian German Hohenzollerns thought it to their interest to disregard those treaties, they treated them as scraps of paper, as they themselves said.

You cannot devise any treaty that will not be a scrap of paper in the future, unless the law abiding nations have their strength prepared to put back of that treaty if it is violated. That is the way in which you can secure the greatest likelihood of peace for this nation. I would be willing to risk my case with the mothers of the land. I would be perfectly willing to prevent every one else from voting except the mothers, if I could put the case fairly before them and say "if you do not raise your boys so that they can be soldiers for the right, some time or other you shall see them go against the cannon unprepared, you will see your daughters turned over to the mercy of a foreign enemy."

I asked for preparedness, not because I wished war, but because I did not wish it. I asked it in the name of those who do not wish war, because, if war comes, their sons and they themselves will have to go. You don't find the pacifists doing that. The pacifists stay at home. They have important business elsewhere. It is the men who practice the fundamental virtues of the days of Washington and the days of Lincoln, upon whom you have to rest for safety in time of trial, and not upon the glib tongued creatures who try to teach you that rhetoric is an effective substitute for action.

And when I say prepare our strength, I do not mean to let George do it; I don't mean to stand by and plead while somebody else prepares—I mean for *us*. I mean that our sons and grand sons shall train themselves in times of peace, and that they so train themselves that an enemy shall know that it will not be 18 months after war has begun, but that it will not be longer than 18 days after war is begun before they are ready for action. And if every nation understands that, you will not be able to get any power in the world to look crosseyed at us.

And as for the pacifists. I suppose you have had his type out here—the conscientious objector. You have heard of him? Yes. We had plenty of them in New York. Men used to write to me a year and a half ago and say, “Are you going to respect my conscience?” I would answer, “Certainly, only you have got to respect mine.” I wanted to find out first what the man was conscientious about. If he is merely conscientious about shooting somebody else, I would say, “All right, I’ll put you in the army and send you up to the front to dig trenches. After you have dug them, I will put other men in with rifles. You will not hurt anybody. You may get hurt yourself, but you will not hurt anybody else.” Or, if he prefers the navy, I’ll say, “All right, I will put you on a mine sweeper.” A mine sweeper never hurts any other vessel. It hunts for mines. If it finds them—if it is not awfully careful it is apt to go up. The man himself may go skyward, but he will not hurt anybody else. If a man will do that kind of work, he is all right. But if he says he is conscientious about risking his own worthless carcass to fight for his country, then I would say to him, “I am too conscientious to allow you to abide in a land that must be protected by the ones who are willing to fight for it.”

We are in the war. Our duty is to speed up the war to the utmost limit of speed and be prepared to fight it through, no matter how long it takes to fight it through. We must insist upon a peace by a complete and overwhelming victory. Remember, that if you put an army in the field by dribblets, the war will last four times as long as it will if you put your army in in the biggest possible mass at once. If you put it in *en masse* it is much more apt to end the right way.

Above all things, let us distrust the man who wants to fight the war a little but not much; who says raise an army but not too big an army, that will make us uncomfortable here.

I feel about nations as I do about individuals. I don't accept the view that there is one standard for national honor and another standard for private honor. Neither do I accept such a view in matters of courage and common sense. I would advise a nation as I would advise a man. Any one of us who has a son wants to feel that the son is not a brawler and is not a coward; that he never bullies a weaker man, but that he will stand up for his rights. When a man will stand up for his rights, the other man had better look out for him.

I would advise any man in private life just as I would a nation. Don't hit any man if you can honorably avoid it, but never hit *SOFT*. No body is crippled if you hit him a little, but not much. If you hit him *SOFT*, he will hurt you in response. Don't hit him at all if you can help it. If you do hit him, put him to sleep. I see the Bishop gathers my meaning.

That's the same way with a nation. Don't go into war if you can honorably keep out of it, but make it understood that if any nation goes to war with you, it is a War. If you go into war, put it through, and do it *NOW*. Send our troops over by the millions. Accept no excuse if we do not have our cannon and our aeroplanes by the tens of thousands for them and our ships by the thousands. Remember that the longer the war lags, the more terrible the toll of bloodshed, of loss, of suffering, of misery, will be. Put the war through. Stand by every government official from the highest to the lowest insofar as he stands by the people in putting the war through and not one minute longer than he so stands.

That is the Abraham Lincoln doctrine. In this state (I am not at all sure it was not in Springfield—at any rate in one of your cities in Illinois) in 1854 when Lincoln was reproached for standing with certain men on certain things, although he was against them on other things, he answered: "Stand by any man who is right; stand by him as long as he is right, but stand against him when he is wrong." And to do less than that is to show your-

selves less than a man and less than an American. Good sound doctrine. Any man who tries to get you to stand by any one who is wrong is trying to get you to do a servile, an un-American and an unpatriotic thing.

When we shall have won the war, when those of our sons who are to come back do come back, some of them sound, some of them crippled, when the young men of the nation, the flower of the nation who have fought for us and have done their work, when they come back, let us see to it that they have come back to a better country than they left.

This terrible war with all of its lamentable accompaniments may nevertheless be of lasting value to this nation, for it may scourge us out of the wallow of materialism made only worse by a mockish sham of sentimentality into which we were tending to sink. The finest, the best, the bravest of our young men have gone forward to face death for the sake of a high ideal, and thereby they have brought home to all of us the great truth that life consists of more than easy going pleasure and more than hard, conscienceless, brutal strife for purely material success. We must rightly care for the body and the things of the body, but such care leads nowhere unless we also have fought for our own souls and for the souls of our brothers. When these gallant boys on the golden crest of life gladly face death for the sake of a high ideal, shall not we, who stay behind, we who have not been found worthy of the great adventure, shall not we in our turn try to shape our lives so as to make this country the ideal, which we in our hearts acknowledge, and to make that ideal and the actual work-a-day business of the world come a little corresponding, a little closer one to the other? Let us resolve to make this country a better place to live in for those men and for the women who send them to battle and for the children who are to come after them to inhabit the land.

When peace comes and even before peace comes, let us weigh and ponder the mighty spiritual forces called into being by this war and turn them to the social and industrial betterment of the nation. Abraham Lincoln, with his usual homely common sense and unerring instinct for the truth bade our people remember

that the dollar has its place, a place that no one but a fool will deny, but that the man stands above and not below the dollar.

Of late we have worshipped the dollar over much and have been smugly content with service to mammon, heedless of the fact that devotion to dollars is almost equally damaging to those who have too many as to those who have too few. For, when success is treated as tested and measured not by the achieving, self-respecting, hard-working family life and the performance of duty to one's self and to others with pleasure as an accompaniment of the duty, but as measured simply by the mass of dollars collected, the result is inevitable that the successful greedy ones develop a mean arrogance toward others, and the unsuccessful greedy ones a mean envy toward others, and the envy and the arrogance alike are but the two sides of the same evil shield.

In this country let our purpose be to secure justice to humanity. At this moment we hold our heads high because our sons and brothers overseas have placed love of a great cause above material success. Let us see that that position is not reversed in this country for a long time to come.

The other day I read the statement that there were a hundred thousand undernourished children in New York City. If we had a like number of undernourished soldiers, what a cry would go up. Yet these children are the citizens of the future and the industrial army is of the same consequence as the military army; and if we do not realize this truth, some day this republic will rock to its foundations. In achieving this purpose, we must be equally on our guard against the American Romanoffs and the reactionaries of industry and politics and against the vultures who appeal to the base spirit of envy and class hatred, who strive for disorder and anarchy. The history of Russia during the last eighteen months teaches this country what to avoid. If you avoid the Scylla of the Romanoffs and plunge into the Charybdis of the Bolsheviki, it don't help. The fact that you have been wrecked on one side of the strait does not give you any cause for congratulation because you got away over this side of the strait. Avoid both. Avoid the man who is afraid of progress and avoid the man who would plunge you into the abyss in the name of progress.

One of the lessons we should learn is that the most sordid corruptionist can do no more harm—and heaven knows how much harm he can do—that the most sordid corruptionist can do no more harm to the nation than the consciencless demagogue or the impracticable and fanatical visionary. We must take the rule of justice and fair play as our guide in dealing alike with capital and labor; with the business man and with the working man, with the man who lives in the town and the man of the open country.

During the war there should be no profiteering, no unusual and abnormal profit. Yet I would like to call this to the attention of some possibly well meaning persons—unless there are legitimate profits you cannot tax them. If there are no profits to tax, there will be no taxes and no wages. People will not permanently run a business when you do away with the profits. Remember that. In a very real sense we should see that the government supervises in this way. It should be done, keeping clearly in view the fact that business must succeed or no good will come to any one and the fact that when it does succeed, there must be a reasonable share of the success go to the men who have put in the capital and to the men who do the labor, who are entitled themselves to the right of collective bargaining in their own interests and who are entitled to be treated as in a whole and now in an unlimited sense, partners in the enterprise. There must be the fullest recognition in honor and in material rewards. There must be the fullest recognition of this kind for successful, conscientious, intelligent, hard working men. And when I say recognition, I mean recognition that they accept as such and not that that somebody says they ought to accept as such.

But there must be no limiting of production; no limiting of output; no insistence on reducing the efficiency of the skilled and hard working to the plain of the shiftless and the inefficient.

So with the farmer. Our aim should be to bring about in this country not merely the maintenance, but the increase of the farmer who tills the soil he owns. Our legislation should be shaped to favor the growth of that class rather than the class of the great land owners who rent their land, or of the renting class

itself. Our aim should be to use whatever means may be found necessary to put a premium upon the maintenance and upbuilding of the class which, in the past, has always been the bedrock of the nation, the class of farmers who live on the land, who till with their own hands, who, themselves and through their sons and through one or two hired men do the work on the farm on which they live. Make the farm more attractive for them, giving a chance to the tenant to own the farm. Make it possible for the man who wants to buy his farm to get the money from the nation on reasonable terms. Do all of that that we can. And when it has been all done, remember that nothing that the government can do can more than aid the man himself to do the work. No use of trying to carry any man. If you carry him and he lets himself be carried, you will exhaust yourself and you will kill him. There is only one efficient way to help any one and that is to help him to help himself.

So, while the government can and must do certain things, the farmer acting for himself and acting by and with the cooperation of other farmers, must himself do certain things. Let us try to introduce gradually and cautiously by adapting to our own needs, the helps, the cooperation and control that have been found effective in Denmark and elsewhere and that have revolutionized the status of the farmers in those countries, and proceed as regards all business men, as regards the wage workers, as regards the farmer, all alike, on the one safe theory in American life, that unless this country in the future is a pretty good place to live in for the children of all of us, it will be a mighty poor place for the children of any of us. Proceed on that assumption. Work together, in unions, in farmers' leagues, in cooperation. When you make class unions, don't work politically. You farmers, recollect if you call a non-partisan league non-partisan and yet make it a party league, it doesn't mean anything. You haven't called it what it is, that is hypocrisy. Work with the unions, work with organizations of any kind, business, labor, farmers, but don't forget that there is one union above any other union, and that is the union to which we all belong—the Union of the United States of America.

THE VANDALIA AND FAYETTE COUNTY CELEBRATION

The Centennial Celebration at Vandalia, the second capital of Illinois, on September 24-25-26, was one of the most interesting in the State.

The exercises on the 24th and 26th were under the direction of the Fayette County Centennial Committee, and the program on the 25th was turned over to the Illinois Centennial Commission, which attended in a body.

At a mass meeting held in the old capitol grounds in the afternoon, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, chairman of the Commission presided, the invocation was delivered by Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh, S. J., of Chicago, a member of the Centennial Commission, and addresses were made by Governor Frank O. Lowden, and Justice Orrin N. Carter. Governor Lowden spoke on the significance of the defeat of slavery under Edward Coles, and showed how the decision of Illinois at that time had an influence on the present day crisis since it had much to do with the preservation of the Union. Justice Carter's address was an historical discussion of the early history of Vandalia and Southern Illinois.

It had been intended to present Mr. Rice's "Masque" at an open-air amphitheater, prepared for the occasion, on the evening of the 25th, but inclement weather prevented. "The Masque" was presented on the following afternoon and evening, and was greatly enjoyed. Mrs. J. V. Waddell took the part of "Illinois" and the "Prologue" was spoken by Adjutant General Frank S. Dickson. The cast was selected from various parts of Fayette County.

The program at the mass meeting was as follows:

Music.....Shelbyville Glee Club

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chairman of the Centennial
Commission, Presiding

Music—The Centennial Hymn

Make us one people, sincere and just, fearing only Thee and Thy judgments. Then shall our youth be assured opportunity and our aged enjoy comfort; then shall the poor and the weak find new hope, and the rich and the strong realize their stewardship.

May we achieve all this in Thy name and to Thy greater glory—through Christ our Lord. Amen.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great day not only for Vandalia but for Illinois. It is a great privilege for any one to stand on this historic spot on the Hundredth Anniversary of our Statehood, and recall, however imperfectly, some of the achievements of Illinois which have had for their setting this historic old first capitol of our beloved State.

It was my privilege yesterday to address, in the city of Chicago, the representatives from all over Illinois of the United War Work Campaign, which is being conducted under the auspices of the Federal Government at Washington. I could not help this morning on my way here but reflect that Chicago, the second city of this hemisphere, and the fourth in all the world, had its origin in the second story of this old structure less than a hundred years ago.

For its charter was received from the General Assembly of Illinois when it occupied this old building, so rich in precious memories of our mighty past.

This war which is raging all about the world, and which is the most momentous event of time, is related also to this structure in the midst of your beautiful little city. It was here in the early days of the State when our population was small, and when Illinois was only an obscure spot upon the map of the world, that the first great battle in the Mississippi Valley was fought over the question of slavery.

If that battle, in which Governor Edward Coles was the leader on the one side, had gone against the freedom of man, it would surely have changed the destiny of Illinois, and in changing the destiny of Illinois, it would have changed the history of this

country. Because, if, as was sought at that time, slavery had been written into our State Constitution, it is not at all likely, indeed, it is well-nigh impossible that the great debate between those two illustrious sons of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, would have occurred. Without that debate Abraham Lincoln would never have been President of the United States; and this, the keystone State in fact of the Union, a slave State would have meant the loss of the Union when the crisis came.

Without the triumph of the Northern Arms in this great war between the states, we would have had a disunited country, and today, instead of the Stars and Stripes floating from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, we would have had at least two governments, jealous of each other; possibly we would have had more than two.

So today in the crisis of the world, instead of a united people and a united nation springing into the breach which the forces of autocracy and militarism had made, we would have been helpless and by now the flag of the Prussian autocrat might have floated over all of Europe, and we of both the North and the South might well have become two colonies of that brutal power.

So strange as it may seem, it is not too much to say that this old building is related to the greatest events in all the world's history. It is difficult for us to realize it, but without that victory of the second Governor of Illinois, without the events which followed logically in its train, a different spectacle would be presented today. That triumph of which this building is the monument is related to every battle front in Europe. Except for it the remnant of the Serbian Army, the most heroic, all things considered, that has developed in this war, would not have been able after four years of defeat, after four years of suffering and hardship, to resume the offensive and to crush its Bulgarian foes.

A year ago when the commission of Serbians visited this country they came to tell us that their army had been driven by superior force into the last corner of their territory; their population had been enslaved; their property had been appropriated by the Central Empires, and their only hope lay in the new spirit which America might introduce into this war if she would promptly

and with open and generous hand respond to the call of the Allies. It was our response to that call, it was the more than a million and a half of soldiers we sent to the battle front, which revived the hopes, which rekindled the courage, which nerved the army of heroic little Serbia until today that army is in full triumph, driving its hated and barbarous foes from its land.

Remember, that of all the countries in this war, Serbia has as distinguished and as heroic a past as any. It was her armies back in the middle ages against which the waves of the Turkish army broke, and beyond which they could not go; and it was the Serbians, who, way back centuries ago, said to the hosts of the Ottoman Empire, "You shall not pass."

Without the assistance we have given, the great victories on the Western front would have been well-nigh impossible. France and England, war worn, and war weary, after four years of the most terrific fighting that the world had ever seen, pitted against the greatest army and the greatest armament of time, were fighting with their backs to the wall, as they themselves declared. It was only when our khaki-clad boys from the United States swept up to the front and turned the tide of the battle of the Marne, it was only then that their indomitable spirits revived, and they turned seeming defeat into victory.

If the United States had been sundered by the Civil War, if we had become two nations, or three nations, or four nations instead of one, we would have been powerless to render that help.

Within the last forty-eight hours cheering and inspiring news has come to us from the Holy Land. Palestine has been recovered from the infidels. This great victory was made possible because of the new spirit which America introduced into the war. But America could not have rendered this service if she had not been a single, undivided, loyal, great nation, and without the historic events which occurred upon this spot, so far as man can see, we would have had a divided country; and civilization, religion and righteousness would have lain helpless at the feet of their ancient foe in Palestine as on the other battle fronts in this world wide war.

So this old building—there are finer capitols everywhere than it—this old building is related, and related closely, if I can read aright, to all the triumphs of the last few weeks.

That leads me to say one thing to you: No one of us can know whether an event when it happens is great or not. We may not see the divine significance of some small thing today; we may know only that it is our duty, however small, however trifling, it is our solemn duty to meet with justice and righteousness and truth that event, because in the centuries as they shall unfold, the event of today seeming to be of no significance, yet may change the destiny of the world just as the battle that was fought here over slavery almost a hundred years ago has an intimate and an everlasting relation to the mighty events that are transpiring now.

Oh, I wish that I might make the people of Illinois understand and understand fully the significance of this war in which we find ourselves! I know at times in the past my friends have thought that I took a gloomy view of what was involved; but there has not been a moment since our diplomatic relations were sundered with Germany that I have not felt in the depths of my heart that everything we hold dear was involved in the issues of this war. It does not mean simply a dispute over territory; it is not merely a question of commercial rights; it is not even the battle of democracy alone. It is true that democracy is fighting the wide world round for the right to exist; but it is more than that. It is the old, eternal warfare between evil and good; it is the old warfare of the few for such a form of society and social life as that those few may enjoy all the good things of the world while the millions of mankind toil and slave. It is the battle which our fathers fought at Concord and Lexington, except that battle was limited to the mere sea coast of one land, while this battle is flaming all around the world. When this war is over there will be but one kind of government anywhere; and that will be either a government of the people, for the people, by the people, or the government of armed might, the government of force imposed by some despot from above. That is what is involved; and that is why in this Centennial Year, my friends, I believe we should recall and recount and dwell upon with tenderness the events of our first century. If

we shall review our great men and great deeds of that hundred years we shall be inspired with a new courage and a new determination to go on at whatever cost in money or men, until liberty and righteousness and justice, aye, and religion, shall be restored to their rightful place throughout the world.

I want to say that whatever the critic may have said before the war to the young men of today, the boys of Illinois on every battle-front are showing themselves worthy of the bravest and best in all our past.

I am receiving letters from commanding officers, today of one regiment, tomorrow of another, and on the next day of another, and each letter relates new acts of heroism, and each one of them breathes a lofty spirit, not only of courage but of abiding faith that we shall go on until we win a peace by victory over our enemies and the enemies of civilization.

As the chairman has told you, I cannot stay with you as long as I would like this afternoon. I should like greatly to hear the other addresses which are awaiting you. I should like above all to see your pageant; I should like to visit with you in the shade of these old trees when the exercises are over, but I must hasten on to meet another engagement. But before I go I want to talk a little bit to the mothers of our boys at the front.

I have seen many of those boys since you have. I saw some of your brave and gallant boys at the port of embarkation before they sailed for the battle fronts. I am receiving letters all the while from some of our officers and men over there, and I am going to talk to the mothers about what I know of their boys and how they are employed on the battle fronts.

As I came up your street this morning I was greatly impressed by your service flag with its seven hundred names representing seven hundred homes in Fayette County; and I noted what I note everywhere now, that several, six I think, of those stars had turned from blue to gold. More will turn from blue to gold as the days come and go. I am going to read to you some of the things the boys are saying to their mothers, and some of the things the mothers are saying to their boys.

A few weeks ago an Illinois mother received news of the death of her son who died from wounds received in battle, and this is what she said, for not only was the one son killed, but two others were also fighting beneath our flag: "My other sons are just as willing to lay down their lives for the cause of civilization. One is in France fighting now; the other is getting ready. I am a soldier's mother. I weep, but my soul is under the stars because of their spirit of devotion and courage. I would not have any of them do otherwise."

In all the history of war the mother of man has never shown as fine as in this war. As all men know, the mother's is the hardest part. In the mysterious recesses of her mother's heart every wound suffered by her son is reproduced, and every suffering and every hardship is repeated there. She endures all the agony of her boy on the battle front. So I say that the mother's part is the hardest of all in any war.

Again, I say that the mothers of no country anywhere have met with such heroism and self sacrifice the offerings they have made as the mothers of today. All honor to these noble women. Oh, I wish that she who gave out this statement when the news was fresh that her fine, chivalrous son had fallen in battle—I wish that this mother could have been decorated with a medal of honor, with a Victoria Cross, with the Croix de Guerre; with all the decorations which the allied armies have pinned upon the breasts of our heroic sons. She deserves them all.

Again, a letter from the 149th Field Artillery. That is the regiment which belongs to the Rainbow Division, made up of Illinois boys, which has been achieving great distinction in the war, being one of the first organizations to cross the seas. This is what young Warden of that regiment says: "My mother: You have been so brave and wonderful in everything that this letter is very hard to write. The army idea about these letters is that the mothers need consolation. Now, I am not going to pretend that you want me to be here, or that this is the place I want most to be, but I do know that my mother would not be satisfied to have her son any other place than where he is.

"I tell you, when I get letters saying how well and happy you are looking and feeling, it makes me very proud of you, and how can I crab or kick against my lot when you who have the hardest burden of inaction and waiting to bear are so brave."

Ah, does not that suggest to the mothers how they can best help their boys on the battle fronts. Write your son a cheerful letter; tell him of the sweet and beautiful old familiar things of his home, and of his neighborhood; speak to him of happy days; and though you may write with a pain in your heart, write with a song upon your lips, because you are helping that brave boy to meet his duty in this the crucial hour of the world's history.

Another—"No dearest mother, there is something a great deal bigger than personal comfort and safety and affections concerned. I have had a big awakening over here, and I would not be anywhere else in the world just now had I the choice. It is patriotism, yet it is more than patriotism. It is pride, yet it is more than pride. There is something at stake in this war bigger than the fate of a nation, even our own; it is a supreme test of might against right."

That letter, written by a boy who would be in school if he were at home, contains more wisdom, more understanding of the significance of this war than the oldest and wisest at home can have.

I know what it has meant to you when you have said good bye to your boys. I have seen them by the thousands, as they have embarked for France. I have looked into their brave young faces, their bright and fearless eyes, and the tears have come when I have thought that some of them would not come back. When this war is over we shall not have as many young men as we would have had without it, but let me tell you that as these letters disclose, we will have the finest lot of young men when these boys come back that this or any other country ever had.

Yesterday one of the leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association, who has just returned from France, at this meeting of which I earlier spoke, told us of the splendid conduct of these boys in all our camps abroad; how clean and fine and strong they were. No army in the history of time has ever been as free from moral stain as this great army of ours on the other side.

Their paper, called the Stars and Stripes, published over there by our soldiers, shows what their chief interest aside from their military duty is, for one of the first things they did, was, company after company, to raise funds to take care of some little orphan boy or girl of a French soldier who had died in this war for civilization; and they raised those funds out of their meager earnings.

Oh, mothers, when your boys are engaged in saving from their small pay enough to adopt the little orphan boy or girl of a French patriot, those boys need give you no concern. You need have no fear that when they return you cannot take them as unreservedly to your arms as you could before they went away.

Now, my time is up, and more, I think, if I am going to make my train. I am just going to say one more thing, then I am going to leave you, and that is: They are safe, because they are meeting the great duty of the hour. They are fighting God's battle if soldiers ever fought God's battle; they are upholding the honor of our flag.

They are safe, but what of us? We will have to give an account of ourselves to them when they return, and we ought to give such an account! They have already rendered full account to us, and the obligation now is ours; and so, whenever opportunity comes, whether in a Liberty Loan campaign, or whether it is to raise a fund for those great agencies that have been recognized by the Government, let's remember that an opportunity has come to us to show our appreciation of these boys. The question is not whether they will meet their full duty; it is whether we at home shall meet ours.

If they are gladly willing to make the supreme sacrifice, the sacrifice of life itself, that our state and nation and civilization may endure, surely, we at home for whom they are fighting should gladly seek day by day what we can do to show them that we appreciate their courage and their sacrifice.

Then we must make an account to them of other things when they return. We owe it to them to do everything within our midst, within our state, within our nation, to make this country just a

little bit better, just a little bit cleaner, just a little bit more unselfish than it was when they went away.

I know that I can count on you, because I have looked into your faces today, and I have seen devotion written there. I know that I can count, as I have counted and not been disappointed, on the people of Fayette County, on this section of the state, working together with this new sense of brotherhood that has come upon the world because of this great war, to look into the faces of these boys when they return and say, "We are entering upon the second century of our existence as a state, and we have tried to be worthy, not only of our past but of you, our heroic boys."

You will help, I know; you will help without stint, and without limit.

VANDALIA AND THE CENTENNIAL

JUSTICE ORRIN N. CARTER

We have met here today in this Centennial Year to commemorate the selection and occupation of this place as the capital of Illinois. Doubtless no other state capital was ever selected under such conditions and circumstances as accompanied the selection of Vandalia. When so selected, Fayette County had not been organized, and this spot was virgin forest with no permanent settlement nearer than 20 miles.

It is appropriate—even in these war times—that we should fittingly commemorate the early struggles of those pioneers who so patriotically, under great difficulties, laid the foundations of this great commonwealth. When the first constitutional convention met at Kaskaskia in August, 1818, one of its most vigorous discussions was with reference to the location of the state capital. It is well known that the territorial capital had been located at Kaskaskia and the first constitutional convention met at that point, in the building usually occupied by the territorial authorities. It was apparently realized by all the delegates that Kaskaskia was not properly located—geographically and with reference to transportation facilities—to be the permanent capital. During the session of the convention, some half dozen resolutions

were introduced by various members with reference to locating the capital, all designating points upon or near the Kaskaskia river. The resolution as finally adopted August 24, 1818, provided that the proper authorities should petition the United States Congress to grant the State of Illinois a quantity of land to contain "not more than four nor less than one section, * * * to be situate on the Kaskaskia River, as near as may be east of the third principal meridian on said river"; that should the prayer of said petition be granted, the General Assembly, at the next session, should provide for the appointing of five commissioners to make the selection of said land so granted, and further providing for the laying out of a town upon the land so selected which should be the seat of government for the State for the term of twenty years and that the General Assembly might have power to make such provisions for a permanent seat of government as might be necessary. (Par. 13 of Schedule of Ill. Constitution, 1818). The Federal Congress on March 3, 1819, passed an act granting to the State of Illinois four sections of land in accordance with that provision of the Illinois Constitution, providing that the selection should be made before the public sale of adjoining public lands. (3 U. S. Stats. at Large, June, 1813, to March, 1823, p. 525.)

The first legislature of Illinois assembled at Kaskaskia, and at its second session in January, 1819, several resolutions were proposed with reference to the selection of the capital and the location of the land as provided for by the State Constitution and the Federal Congress. Finally, on March 30, 1819, at a joint session of the Senate and House, five commissioners were chosen to select a location. Beyond question, all the places seriously considered were located upon the Kaskaskia River and if the provision as to the location as near as might be east of the third principal meridian was to be followed, none of the other places under consideration would have been chosen. It seems quite clear from the records available as to the reasons for changing the location of the capital, that such change was largely brought about by those who were desirous of promoting land speculation—the promoters, doubtless, believing that they would derive personal advantage from the change. The statement is frequently made in the his-

tory of that time that quite a number of the prominent residents of Kaskaskia were promoters of the change and the authentic records seem to indicate that this speculation desire was really the cause for the change.

Hon. Sidney Breese, at the time Vandalia was selected as the State capital, was serving as assistant to the Secretary of State Kane. Breese, as you know, was afterwards United States Senator and served for many years and until his death, as a judge of the supreme court of the State. His name is perhaps as well known and illustrious as that of any man who ever sat on the supreme bench of the State. At the time of the laying of the corner stone of the present State House in Springfield, October 5, 1868, he wrote for publication his recollections of the selection of Vandalia, among other things saying, that while the commissioners were considering other localities, a noted hunter and trapper, Reavs, by name, visited them. He spoke in glowing terms of the beauties of "Reavs' Bluff" where his cabin was situated, being on the Kaskaskia River at this point, and told the commissioners that "Pope's Bluff" now Carlyle, wasn't a 'primin' to his bluff.' Breese further relates that the commissioners visited Reavs' Bluff and selected it as the location for the future capital; that after the selection "lots were sold at public auction, on credit, at fabulous prices, few of which were paid for in full. The enterprising and scheming, some from the old world, came to it, and soon the nucleus of a town was formed. Measures were inaugurated for the erection of a State House, which culminated in a plain two-story frame building of rude architecture, set upon a rough stone foundation, and placed in the centre of the square, the lower floor of which was devoted to a passage and stairway to the upper story, and a large plain room devoid of ornament; the upper floor was divided into two rooms, the largest for the accommodation of the Senate, and a smaller one for the office of the Secretary of State; the auditor and treasurer occupying detached buildings, hired for that purpose. No ceremonies were observed in laying the corner stone of this unsightly structure; no music disturbed the solitude of the forest, then in its primeval beauty; no crowd in pride of pageantry lent excitement to the scene; no sound was heard save

the rap of the mason's hammer and the sharp click of his trowel." (Caton's *Miscellanies*, p. 65.) This was the first State Capitol building ever owned by the State. The State records were transferred from Kaskaskia to Vandalia in a single wagon under Breese's direction, Breese and the driver being compelled several times, before reaching Vandalia, to cut down trees in order to obtain a passageway of sufficient size. The legislature made an appropriation, when meeting at Vandalia, of \$25 to pay Breese for the services rendered in thus transferring the State archives from Kaskaskia to Vandalia. The first Governor of the State, Shadrach Bond, delivered his first message to the Second General Assembly in this first State House on December 4, 1820. Among other things, he recommended that the Assembly provide for the public welfare by encouraging education and at the proper time when "thought advisable, to lay the foundation of a seminary of learning; that he knew of no situation more commanding than the vicinity of the seat of government. Here the student, by an occasional visit to the Houses of the General Assembly and the courts of justice, will find the best specimens of oratory the State can produce; imbibe the principles of legal science and political knowledge, and, by an intercourse with good society, his habits of life will be chastened, and his manners improved." The esteemed governor had greater faith in the influence of the legislature and other departments of State upon education than do most people at the present time.

It may be interesting to note the supposed origin of the name "Vandalia". Governor Ford in his early history of Illinois, states that "after the place had been selected, it became a matter of great interest to give it a good sounding name, one which would please the ear, and at the same time have the classic merit of perpetuating the memory of the ancient race of Indians by whom the country had first been inhabited. Tradition says that a wag who was present suggested to the commissioners that the 'Vandals' were a powerful race of Indians, who once inhabited the banks of the Kaskaskia River and that Vandalia, formed from their name, would perpetuate the memory of that extinct but renowned people. The suggestion pleased the commissioners, the name was adopted

and they thus proved that the name of their new city (if they were fit representatives of their constituents) would better illustrate the character of the modern than the ancient inhabitants of the country." (Ford's History of Ill., p. 35.)

Robert Ross, in his Historical Souvenir of this city, says (p. 11): "The most reasonable solution to the question is, that the location was in the Van of the settlements in the State, and because of the hills and dales surrounding it, therefore 'Vandalia'." This statement of Ross seems to be in accord with the recollections of William C. Greenup, who, as surveyor, laid out the original town of Vandalia. Greenup was one of the leaders in the State at that time, having been secretary of the first constitutional convention and Mr. Ross, in his Souvenir, gives a statement of George W. Brown as to a conversation that he heard between his father and Colonel Greenup, in which the Colonel told his father that the town received the name of Vandalia for the reasons just mentioned.

While investigating the early history of this State in preparation for this talk, I have obtained some information new to me and which I have never seen referred to by any writer on this subject, which may possibly have some bearing as to how the name "Vandalia" came to be chosen. When it was a part of the British possessions, several companies were organized for the purpose of locating lands in that part of this country which was afterwards known as the Northwest Territory. These were organized under the name of the Illinois, Wabash, Indiana and Vandalia Companies, respectively, and were granted by the British Crown the right to locate land in that portion of the United States west and north of the Ohio River. Benjamin Franklin, who represented for years our country in foreign service, before, during and after the Revolution, had corresponded with reference to some of these companies with one Samuel Wharton of Philadelphia. This correspondence shows that they were considering locating a company or colony to be known as the Walpole Company or Grand Ohio Company "which proposed the erection of the colony of Vandalia, west of Virginia." (Vol. 10, Ill. Historical Collections, p. 374, Note 1.) The Journals of the United States Congress show

that after the beginning of the Revolution, as well as after the United States became an independent nation, attempts were made by some of the original proprietors in these land companies, to locate in the Northwest Territory and that vigorous protests were made by the Virginia State authorities with reference to the matter, the latter claiming that the land belonged to Virginia because of the conquest of this Illinois country by Colonel Clark. (See Hening's Virginia Stats. at Large, Vol. 10, p. 557, and 3 Journals of U. S. Congress (1778-1782, pp. 359, 676, 680.) It seems, therefore, from the investigation on this subject, that "Vandalia" was a familiar name even before the Revolution and was used with reference to a tract of land which included the southern part of this State, as well as the name of the proposed colony, to be located, possibly, in southern Illinois. It is not unreasonable to suppose that one of the five commissioners, or some prominent man who was discussing this question with the commissioners, remembering the name of Vandalia in connection with these proposed land claims and the prospective colony, may have thought it proper to perpetuate the name by that of the new capital of the State—no one can deny that the name was good sounding to the ear and seemed to possess a classic merit. It would seem to the present speaker that it is as reasonable to assume that the name Vandalia was thus chosen, as to favor the explanation suggested by Governor Ford, and just as reasonable, perhaps, as the suggestion of Colonel Greenup, the original surveyor of the town.

The Constitution provided that when the new capital was chosen, it should remain as located for twenty years. Long before the twenty years expired, there commenced an agitation for the removal of the capital from this city, largely, I think, because of the lack of transportation facilities to reach this point. Had traveling facilities at that time equalled those of today, it might well be questioned if this city might not long have remained the State Capital, as the National Capital has remained at Washington, though far removed from the geographical center of the country, though the question of a change has often been agitated. The then residents of Vandalia realized the danger of this agitation and when the first State Capitol Building was burned on the night

of December 9, 1823, and totally destroyed they bestirred themselves to raise funds, privately, to assist in the erection of a new capitol building. I am unable to find any definite information as to the cause of the fire which destroyed the first capitol building. I understand there has been a rumor extant that the cause of the fire was incendiary, growing out of the sharp agitation as to calling a convention to permit slavery to be established in this State; but I find no authentic basis in any of the records justifying any such rumor. Judge Breese and others who have written on the subject, say the cause of the fire was entirely unknown.

The second capitol building was erected at a cost of \$15,000. In his message in November, 1824, Governor Coles complimented the residents of Vandalia upon their patriotism in assisting in the erection of the new State House and promised to do all he could to have them reimbursed. Late in the same year this promise was made good by the Legislature. In 1833 the agitation for the removal of the capital from Vandalia took definite shape and the Eighth General Assembly passed an act providing for taking a vote in each county on the question of such removal. Six proposed locations were voted for, including Vandalia. The result of the vote showed that the geographical center of the State received 790 votes while Alton—which led in votes—received 8,157, Vandalia the second highest, 7,730, and Springfield the next highest, 7,075. So far as I can ascertain, the result of this election was never officially canvassed and declared. In the meantime the Vandalia citizens, evidently fearful that they would lose the capital and seeking to meet the argument that was being made at this time, that the State needed a new State House, busied themselves with projects for a new building by which they might take advantage of the failure to declare the official result as to the removal of the capital. Apparently without any authority of law, the second State House building was torn down in the summer of 1836, during the legislative recess, and the citizens of the city, on their own responsibility, built a new building, the present Court House at a cost of some \$16,000. The then Governor, Duncan, desirous of treating Vandalia as fairly as possible, paid \$6,000 out of the State contingency fund to assist in the cost of the structure. The balance

of the expense, approximately \$10,000, was borne by the citizens of this city, although I understand the Legislature afterwards refunded the amount thus expended. Vandalia, however, was not thus able to dispose of the agitation for removal, and on February 25, 1837, the Legislature in joint session here, on the fourth ballot, chose Springfield as the new seat of government for the State. Vandalia received on this last vote, the next highest vote to Springfield, and some eight or nine other localities also received votes. The Eleventh General Assembly held the last session of the Illinois Legislature at Vandalia, meeting here December 3, 1838. In February, 1839, an act was passed conveying the interest of the State in the third State House building to Fayette County, with the stipulation that the west half of the building should be used as a Court House and the east half for school purposes. The building was thus used and occupied, so far as it was occupied, until 1857, although it seems that a school was not conducted here in the east half during all the intervening years. In 1857, by a special act of the Legislature, the educational authorities who had control in the matter at that time, conveyed to the county their entire interest in the building, and thereafter the third State House was remodeled by the county and all of it has since been used as a Court House.

While Vandalia was the State capital, the destinies of this great State were presided over by six different Governors, beginning with Shadrach Bond and ending with Joseph Duncan. Governor Carlin the seventh Governor was also inaugurated here and the capital was moved to Springfield during his administration. One of these six Governors, Ewing, only served fifteen days. Governor John Reynolds had been previously elected to Congress, as had Lieutenant Governor Casey, and both resigned to qualify in the Federal positions. Ewing was then serving as president of the State Senate, and therefore because of holding that position, became the acting Governor until Duncan was elected and qualified, fifteen days after Governor Reynolds resigned. Ewing has the unique distinction, not only of serving the shortest time of any Governor of the State, but also because of occupying numerous prominent positions, both before and after he was Governor. His

first position of State importance was clerk of the Legislature; after that he was a member of the lower house, and speaker; then a member of the senate, president pro-tem. of the senate, Lieutenant Governor and United States Senator; then, later, he became a member of the Legislature, speaker, and after that, again clerk of the House of Representatives. During this intervening period he was also, at one time, the State Auditor of Public Accounts. Ewing must have been a man who retained the good will and confidence of those with whom he associated.

The second Governor of Illinois, Edward Coles, born in Virginia, had served seven years as private secretary to President Madison and had been sent by him on a special mission to Russia to settle a very important dispute that had arisen between the two governments, completing this mission satisfactorily to all parties concerned. He was thereafter appointed by President Monroe as United States Land Registrar at Edwardsville, in this State. Before going on his mission to Russia, he had made a trip over the Northwest Territory for the purpose of seeking a proper location to settle, where he could bring and free his slaves that he had inherited from his father. While acting as secretary of President Madison, Coles had been reading widely and studying seriously with reference to this slavery question; he had corresponded with former President Jefferson and had made up his mind he would free his slaves, but concluded that he could not do it either satisfactorily to himself or to their advantage in Virginia, where he was then residing, as all the people in that State believed strongly in slavery and the Virginia laws were such as to make such action practically impossible, without getting both his slaves and himself into trouble. He therefore decided to move into that part of the United States where slavery was not in force—the ordinance under which the Northwest Territory was organized specifically provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should ever be in force within the territory. Illinois was slave territory when it was ceded by Virginia to the United States and after it became a state it was argued that under the provisions of this cession from Virginia to the Federal Government, slavery might still legally exist, notwithstanding the provisions in the ordinance organizing the

Northwest Territory, it being argued that this ordinance was in conflict on this question with the deed of cession and that therefore the ordinance was not binding upon the people of the State. Coles settled in this State in 1819 and was elected Governor to succeed Bond in August, 1822. There were no political conventions in those days to nominate the candidates and the different aspirants for office were compelled to go out on their own hook to seek office, or, in the language of that day "run stump." At the election in 1822 for Governor, there were four candidates, two pro-slavery, Chief Justice Joseph Phillips of the Supreme Court of the State and one of his associates on the supreme bench, Thomas C. Browne. Coles was known to be anti-slavery and Major General James B. Moore was also a candidate and it was generally understood that he was against slavery. Coles was elected by a plurality of 50 votes over Phillips. Judge Browne was brought out by the friends of Phillips to help him in the Wabash Country, but the result of the election showed that Browne's candidacy was the cause of Phillips' defeat. Undoubtedly a large majority of the votes that went to Browne would have gone to Phillips and have elected him. The aggregate of the votes of Browne and Phillips together were much greater than the aggregate of the votes of Coles and Moore. Thus Coles was elected Governor by the division of the pro-slavery vote; but there was no such division on the vote as to the Legislature and the other State candidates, and the pro-slavery candidates for Lieutenant Governor and members of the Legislature were elected.

The result of this election, electing Governor Coles, anti-slavery, and the Legislature, pro-slavery, brought about the most exciting political contest that ever took place in this State until the years immediately preceding the Civil War. Governor Coles in his first message to the Legislature strongly advocated legislation giving more rights to the colored people. The so-called "Black Laws" then in force in Illinois, practically placed the colored race in bondage, notwithstanding the provision in the Illinois Constitution of 1818 and the ordinance creating the Northwest Territory forbidding slavery and involuntary servitude. The Legislature, largely pro-slavery, resented these suggestions of the Governor and after a vigorous discussion on the question, passed a resolution

calling for a vote of the people as to whether or not a new convention should be held for the purpose of legalizing slavery. The Legislature only succeeded in passing this resolution after unseating Representative Hansen, who had formerly been seated on a contest, and seating one Shaw who had been theretofore refused a seat, at the time of the Hansen contest. Hansen, much to the surprise and chagrin of the pro-slavery people, had voted against the calling of the Constitutional Convention, while Shaw, as soon as he was seated, voted for it, thus giving the necessary two-thirds vote in favor of calling the convention. The joy of the convention men over this triumph was unbounded. An impromptu jollification was gotten up in this city, not only to celebrate their victory, but to taunt their opponents. The pro-slavery people organized themselves into a noisy, disorderly, tumultuous procession, as reported by Governor Ford in his history, headed by Judge Phillips, the defeated candidate for Governor, and Judge Smith, Judge Thomas Reynolds of the Supreme Court and Lieutenant Governor Casey, followed by a majority of the Legislature and the hangers on and the rabble about the seat of government, and marched to the blowing of tin horns and beating of drums and tin pans to the residence of Governor Coles, and to the boarding houses of their principal opponents, where they manifested their contempt for those they were serenading by a confused medley of groans, wailings and lamentations. (Ford's History of Ill. p. 53.) Governor John Reynolds, who was elected as the fourth Governor of the State, and who was a pronounced pro-slavery man and for the convention, writes with reference to this celebration on the evening in question, that it was wild and indecorous and aroused much antagonism as well as being very unpopular. The resolution was passed in 1823 calling for a vote on the convention about eighteen months later in August, 1824. Immediately after the passage of the resolution, the two sides organized for the contest, the anti-slavery men under the leadership of Governor Coles, who gave all of his salary and most of his time in striving to educate the public to vote against the convention. Both parties then began to wage one of the most remarkable contests that was ever brought before the voters of this or any other state for settlement. It was long

and severe. Most of the leading men of the time were pro-slavery, but the anti-slavery men, under the leadership of Governor Coles, did not lack for strong supporters. Newspapers, handbills and pamphlets were scattered broadcast and every person who was able to make a speech took "the stump" on one side or the other, and for eighteen months all the people did little but read the newspapers, handbills and pamphlets and discuss and argue with each other, wherever they might meet, with reference to the all-absorbing topic. It is stated by some who were living at that time and who wrote their recollections with reference to this contest, that not only men but women and children who were old enough to understand the subject, took part in the discussion; that old friendships were broken, families divided and neighbors arrayed against each other; that threats of personal violence were often made and that personal conflicts were of common occurrence. Ministers took prominent part in the discussion and they were practically unanimous against calling the convention. The contest continued with unabated vigor and violence until the election on the first Monday in August, 1824, the result of which was that a majority of 1,872 voted against the calling of the convention, Fayette County vote being 125 for, 121 against. Every one who was able to vote was brought to the polls—the old, the sick and the decrepit. The largest vote was cast in proportion to the population that was cast for many years—larger than the vote that was cast in the presidential election following. Thus ended this most remarkable contest. Governor Coles rendered an inestimable service to the State and nation by his course of action on this question. One of the former judges of the State Supreme Court, John D. Caton, in an address made in court some time in the 80's, said of Governor Coles, that for his conspicuous service while Governor, we owe to him "a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid;" that he saved then and forever this great State "from the black curse of African slavery."

It will be well for the people of this time, when they are discouraged because of the evils of today, to realize more fully than the most of us do, the terrible effects of negro slavery in this State and nation at the time that Coles was Governor of Illinois. The so-called "Black Laws" upon our statutes were as severe as in most

of the southern states. Under these laws every black person was practically assumed to be a slave unless he could prove to the contrary. Mr. Elihu B. Washburne, in speaking of this "Black Code" of Illinois, states, that it was "one of the most infamous and barbarous enactments that ever disgraced a civilized state." (Washburne's Administration of Coles, p. 238.) The animosities which arose against Governor Coles by his stand in this contest, did not die out at the close of his administration. The Legislature in 1819 enacted a law providing a penalty against any one bringing into the State of Illinois free colored people without giving a certain bond required by that act. (Illinois Session Laws 1819, p. 354.) Before the convention election in 1824, a suit was instituted in Madison County in the name of the county against Governor Coles to recover penalties against him under this act for bringing his former slaves, after they were freed, into the State. Before a final decision was reached on this litigation in the trial court, the Legislature passed a law releasing all penalties incurred under it, including those sought to be recovered in this action against Coles. The trial court entered judgment for \$2,000 in favor of Madison County and refused to remit the penalties as required by the Repealing Act. The cause was taken to the Supreme Court of the State and was there reversed. (Coles v. County of Madison, 1 Ill. p. 154.) Criminal proceedings were also brought against Governor Coles growing out of certain of his acts on the slavery question, but these criminal proceedings were dismissed without trial over the Governor's protest. These "Black Laws" permitting voluntary slavery under the indenture system, remained in force in this State until repealed by the State Legislature in 1865, at the close of the Civil War. Certain provisions in these laws were held constitutional by the Supreme Court of the State in 1864 in *Nelson v. People*, 33 Ill. 390. This litigation grew out of a proceeding against a mulatto, named Nelson, under a law which provided that any negro, bond or free, who should come into the State and remain for a period of ten days with the intention of permanently settling here, should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction, in case he failed to pay the fine imposed upon him, should be sold at public auction by the sheriff of the county, and that the

sheriff, from the proceeds of such sale, should pay the fine and costs and the purchaser should be entitled, for a certain length of time, in proportion to the amount of the fine, to the services of the negro. I doubt if such a law would be held constitutional at the present time. The vital question in that slavery struggle was the same as it is now in this great world war: whether every individual shall be free and shall have a part in the government, or shall be governed "from Potsdam." As Lincoln said later, in discussing the slavery question: "The real issue in this country is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other, the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it.'"

If the Centennial celebration serves no other useful purpose, it will result in good in bringing before the people of the State a somewhat more vivid realization of the life and work of Governor Coles. I understand that under the auspices of the Centennial Commission there will soon be republished the biography of Governor Coles written by former Congressman Elihu B. Washburne, who, during the Civil War, stood as the backer and sponsor of General Grant and who afterwards served in Paris during the Franco-Prussian War, as our Minister to France. When this book is reprinted, I hope every student and lover of liberty will read it with care and every one who does so, will be well repaid.*

It is interesting in this connection to recall that Governor Coles had as one of his aides, Col. William S. Hamilton, a son of Gen. Alexander Hamilton; that Governor Coles sent Hamilton as his special messenger to meet General LaFayette at St. Louis, at the time LaFayette made his visit to this country in 1825. Colonel Hamilton met LaFayette at St. Louis and arranged with him for a reception in his honor at Kaskaskia, where Governor Coles made the address of welcome—the reception being attended and participated in by practically all the men prominent in the

* Published as the Centennial volume of the Illinois State Historical Society as Volume No. 15 Illinois Historical Collections.

west at that time. Former Governor Reynolds states in his biography, entitled "My Own Times," that General LaFayette was escorted from Kaskaskia to Vandalia and from thence to Shawneetown where the party embarked for Nashville in a boat chartered by the State and that LaFayette returned from Nashville up the Ohio where he had a reception at Shawneetown on his second visit. A history of Fayette County is to the same effect. I am of the opinion that Governor Reynolds is incorrect in his statement that LaFayette came to Vandalia. So far as I can verify from the records after the reception in Kaskaskia, LaFayette accompanied by Governor Coles, returned down the Mississippi to Nashville and then went from Nashville up the Ohio, stopping for a reception at Shawneetown, where I think Governor Coles left him, returning across the State to Vandalia. LaFayette's private secretary (Levasseur) writing an account of this visit to America, states that they went down the Mississippi River from Kaskaskia. The files of the Illinois Intelligencer, published in this city in 1825, owned by the Illinois State Historical Society, made no mention of LaFayette's visiting Vandalia, so it seems quite certain from that lack of mention and from the other authorities available, that Governor Reynolds in his recollection was wrong in saying that LaFayette came to Vandalia. Fayette County was named after LaFayette.

In investigating the early history of Illinois with reference to this city while it was the capital of the State, I have run on to many things of interest to me, that I am sure might interest most of you, but time will permit only a brief reference to some of the most striking of these things. Earlier I referred, briefly, to the fact that probably one of the reasons for the agitation as to removing the capital from Vandalia, grew out of the lack and difficulties of proper transportation to and from this city. In one of the historical reviews of the first years of Illinois I find a statement that in 1822 it cost \$151.82 to make a trip from Vandalia to Shawneetown and return, the round trip requiring fourteen days. (Bogges, Settlement of Illinois, p. 150.) The same author says in the same work (p. 161), that in 1820 the charge for carrying either baggage or persons from Baltimore to Wheeling was \$5 to \$7 per hundred weight and that persons wishing to travel cheaply

had their luggage transported, while they walked. In 1831 stage lines were used to convey passengers from the principal points in this State to other localities. Once a week a stage went to Vandalia from St. Louis by way of Edwardsville and Greenville. (Pooley on Settlement of Illinois, p. 357.) Vandalia in those days seems to have been the diverging point from which mails were sent out in nearly every direction, southeast to Vincennes, Ind.; south to Mount Vernon in this State; southwest to Carlyle; northwest to Hillsboro, Taylorville, Jacksonville and Beardstown; northeast to Shelbyville. (Ross' Souvenir, p. 33.) Another writer says that the stage fare in the early 30's in this State was ordinarily 6 cents a mile. It must also be remembered that a dollar meant much more then than at present. The want of good roads at this time across the country was very great. Much costly work, under the patronage of the United States Congress, had been done in the early 30's upon the national road extending in Illinois from opposite Terre Haute, Ind., to Vandalia. This was as far as the national road was constructed. Aside from this, while a number of State roads were established connecting the principal towns—which were used for mail and stage routes—but little labor or money was expended upon them, none of the smaller, and only a few of the larger, streams being bridged. (1 Moses, Ill. History, p. 388.) On one occasion, Judges Wilson and Lockwood of the Supreme Court of the State and Attorney Henry Eddy, were traveling by horseback from Carmi to Vandalia—a distance of sixty miles—when they were overtaken by a storm of wind, sleet and snow, and after traveling all day they became so fatigued that they were unable to proceed farther; so they tied their horses and spread a blanket on the ground near a fallen tree and sat down close together to obtain as much warmth as possible by contact with each other and thus spent the rest of the dismal night; then they proceeded in the morning half frozen and on reaching the Kaskaskia River, opposite Vandalia, about noon, they found its banks full to overflowing. There being no other alternative, they plunged in and swam their horses over, riding into town about “used up.” Judge Lockwood, who had long been in delicate health, feared that the exposures of this trip might be fatal, but strange to relate,

he suffered no evil consequences, thereafter enjoying better health than he had for years. (1 Moses Ill. Note, p. 389.) Manifestly, as costly as we think travel is in these war times, it is much less costly and far more comfortable and more rapid than in those days when Vandalia was the State Capital.

Many of the earlier settlers in the southern part of this State came by the water route down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi, and, so far as possible, up the rivers in this State. I have no doubt that one of the reasons why the first Constitutional Convention attempted to locate the permanent capital on the Kaskaskia River was because they thought it would be more easily reached by the water route than any other way. I have found in a copy of one of the first magazines published in this State, called the "Illinois Magazine," edited and conducted by James Hall, at one time one of the circuit judges of this State, (this magazine being published at one time, I understand, in Vandalia), an article in the January 1832 number, on Vandalia, in which there is discussed at some length the location of Vandalia and its advantages. It states that the city is about 100 miles by land from the junction of the Kaskaskia River with the Mississippi and 314 miles by the river route; that this stream was destined to be one of the most useful in the State; that it was navigable for steamboats for six months in the year; that in high water, there was not a single obstruction in its whole course, except such as are created by logs and trees falling accidentally into the river; that these at that time had all been removed as far up as 23 miles north of Carlyle, and that the river might be navigated to that point; that at a small expense the river could be made navigable to Shelbyville, forty miles by land north of Vandalia. Certain points other than Vandalia that sought the location of the State Capital at the time Vandalia was chosen, urged as one of their advantages the navigability of this river at such points. (See Ill. Centennial History, Preliminary Vol. Ill. in 1818, pp. 287, 288.) We think this glowing account of the navigability of the Kaskaskia River was somewhat overdrawn. Ross in his history of this city refers to an account of one Lee taking two flat boats on the Kaskaskia River loaded with produce down the Kaskaskia and Mississippi Rivers

to New Orleans as if it was an uncommon occurrence, and while I have no doubt that in the early history of this State it was supposed that the Kaskaskia was going to be made a navigable river by the improvements that would be made by public authorities, I question whether the Kaskaskia was ever really navigable for steamboats up to this point, as indicated in the magazine edited by Judge Hall.

Quite a prominent feature of the legislation of this State while the capital was located at Vandalia, was the attempt to make the people rich by legislation. In 1821 the Illinois State Bank was created with a capital of a half a million dollars. The principal bank was located here at Vandalia, with branches well distributed at Edwardsville, Brownsville, Shawneetown and the county seat of Edwards County. Each county in the State was entitled to a director, who, with the bank officers, were to be elected by the Legislature. Three hundred thousand dollars in paper money was issued by this bank. The result of the creation of this bank and the issuing of this money upon the prosperity of the State was very damaging; the community as a whole suffered greatly by this unwise legislation. Perhaps even more unwise than the attempt to make the State rich by issuing bank paper, so as to increase business by the circulation of paper money, was the attempt to make public improvements through lottery schemes; thus, the navigation of the Wabash River at the Grand Rapids, near Palmyra, by the digging of a canal, was attempted to be promoted and brought about by a lottery. Other like schemes with similar objects were undertaken with reference to draining ponds, building levees and the reclamation of lands on the American bottoms. All of those schemes failed miserably because they were not based upon sound business principles. (Davidson & Stuve's History of Ill. pp. 304, 307.)

One of the most interesting things that has come to my attention concerning Vandalia in reading on Illinois history, is in reference to the first church bell that was hung in a Protestant Church in Illinois. This bell was presented to the Presbyterian Church of this city in 1830 by Romulus Riggs—a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia. He had extensive business dealings in Illinois and

became the owner of a large quantity of farm land in the so-called Military Tract in this State. In 1830, on the birth of a daughter, to whom he gave the name "Illinois," he presented this bell to the Presbyterian Church of Vandalia and it bore the inscription: "Illinois Riggs to the Presbyterian Congregation of Vandalia, 1830." Illinois Riggs was the youngest daughter of a large family. Her father left her by his will a large interest in much of his land in this State, and the lawyers here and those who study curious events in our history, will be interested in learning that there is now considerable litigation going on in various counties in the Military Tract with reference to the ownership of some of this land left by the will of Romulus Riggs to his daughter, Illinois. Mr. Riggs, unwisely, as many other wealthy men have done, attempted to put certain minute restrictions in his will as to where the title to this land should go after his death and this has resulted in leaving the title to much valuable land in several counties in this State in an uncertain condition. This litigation, I am told, will continue for some years before it is finally settled.

During the early settlement of this State attempts were made in certain sections to locate colonies. In this State, under the leadership of Birkbeck and Flower, an English colony was located in Edwards County near Albion. Several other colonies were located at different points in the State by the Germans and English. In 1819, Ferdinand Ernst, a gentleman of wealth and literary ability, came from Hanover, Germany, to this country leading a colony of thirty families. They settled in or near Vandalia, soon after this city was chosen as the capital. It appears that they purchased some of the first lots that were sold after Vandalia was subdivided, and some of the members of this colony were leading citizens of this city for years. Their leader, Mr. Ernst, died within a short time after he settled here and his heirs decided to return to their former home. Ernst and his wife, in 1821, had purchased certain lots in this city and had given their notes, secured by mortgage, for the unpaid purchase price. The notes and mortgage were not paid when due and the mortgage was foreclosed in accordance with the procedure in vogue at that time. In 1823 the Legislature passed an act relieving the estate of Ernst from the payment of

this obligation. (Session Laws of 1823, p. 177.) The trial court held that this act did not release the Ernst estate from the payment of the obligation. The Supreme Court, Judge John Reynolds writing the opinion, reversed the trial court's decision and held that the legislative act was valid and that the Ernst estate was relieved from the payment of the obligation due the State of Illinois. (*Ernst Administration v. State Bank*, 1 Ill. p. 86.)

Illinois, as one of the five states created out of the Northwest Territory, has had a great history. Some of its citizens have been foremost leaders in national affairs. Never in its history did it have men more worthy of confidence and respect than during the time that Vandalia was the State Capital. The Tenth General Assembly, which convened here in Vandalia, December 5, 1836, was one of the most remarkable bodies of law makers ever assembled in this or any other State; so far as I am aware, no roll of any other legislative body ever included so many names destined to become leaders of this nation. Among its members were included Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, six future United States Senators, eight members of the National House of Representatives, a secretary of the interior, three judges of the State Supreme Court, and seven State officers. Among them were not only Lincoln and Douglas, but Edward D. Baker, who, thereafter, represented Illinois and then Oregon in Congress and fell, mortally wounded, while leading his regiment at Ball's Bluff; O. H. Browning, afterwards U. S. Senator and a member of President Johnson's cabinet; William L. D. Ewing, who had just completed his service in the U. S. Senate; John Logan, father of the late Gen. John A. Logan; Richard N. Cullom, father of the late Senator Cullom; John A. McClernand, afterward member of Congress and a noted general in the Civil War; Gen. James Shields, Col. John J. Hardin, James Semple, who was elected Speaker of that House and afterwards served as judge of the State Supreme Court and United States Senator; Augustus C. French, afterwards Governor of Illinois; Usher F. Linder, at one time Attorney General of the State, and others. (1 *Moses History of Ill.* p. 407.) Other leaders in State affairs during the time Vandalia was the capital were also prominent in national affairs. Ninian Edwards, the first and only

Territorial Governor, before he was appointed to that office, was Chief Justice of the highest court of review of Kentucky. Edwards was one of the first United States Senators from this State and the third Governor of the State and his correspondence, published after his death by his son, Ninian Wirt Edwards—(who was one of the members of the Legislature from Springfield at the time the Capital was removed from Vandalia to Springfield) shows that Governor Edwards was well acquainted with many of the leading men of the country, who sought his advice on the public questions of the day.

In studying the early history of Illinois, I have been impressed more and more with the fact that then, as now, in a State like ours, public opinion has great influence in guiding and controlling officials in their duties. Lincoln was right when he said at the Ottawa Debate with Douglas, that in a popular government like ours, public opinion is the most powerful weapon; that it is more influential than the legislatures or the courts; that it can make and unmake the legislative acts or the decisions of the courts. A great English writer has stated that the legislature in their enactments represent the public opinion of yesterday, while the decisions of the courts represent the public opinion of day before yesterday. I am disposed to think that in the long run public opinion will influence, directly or indirectly, not only the legislature but the courts, on great public questions. The historian Von Holst, in writing the constitutional history of this country, stated, in regard to the course of the Federal Supreme Court with reference to the slavery question, that it was found that that court did not stand on that question like the rock of Gibraltar, resisting all influence, or change as public opinion changed, but rather its actions were fairly represented by the action of a great glacier moving slowly down a valley formed by public opinion and conforming to the shape of the valley as it moved.

In this great world-struggle in which our nation is engaged, it is therefore important that public opinion should be right on the great questions that caused this world war.

THE OBSERVANCE OF THE CENTENARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT, OCTOBER 5-6, 1918

The official Centennial Celebration held at the State Capital on October 4th, 5th and 6th, was one of the most impressive observances of the entire Centennial Year.

On Friday evening, October 4th, "The Masque of Illinois," by Wallace Rice, was given in the Coliseum, at the State Fair Grounds, under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission, in co-operation with the Sangamon County Centennial Committee. The production was given under the immediate direction of Frederick Bruegger, Pageant Master of the Illinois Centennial Commission. The cast included more than one thousand characters. The story of Illinois was portrayed in a most artistic and beautiful manner, culminating in a thrilling, patriotic appeal. The production was repeated on Saturday evening, October 5th, and on both evenings the capacity of the Coliseum was taxed to the utmost. There was a nominal charge for seats, the entire proceeds being turned over to the Red Cross.

At 10:30 Saturday morning, October 5th, the cornerstone of the Centennial Memorial Building was formally laid by Governor Lowden, Lieutenant Governor John G. Oglesby presiding. A copper box was placed in the cornerstone. Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Centennial Commission read a list of the articles and papers which the box contained. The ceremonies were brief but very impressive. Among those present at this ceremony, and at the dedicatory services following, were Lord Charnwood of England, Honorable Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy of the United States, and Mrs. Daniels, the State Executive Officers, Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Legislature, members of the Illinois Centennial Commission, and many other persons prominent in public life.

Governor Lowden, in his address urged preparation for a great future in the new century of the State. He said:

"Mr. Daniels, Lord Charnwood, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have just laid the cornerstone of the Centennial Memorial Building of the State of Illinois. This building when it is completed will contain the archives and the memorials of the first century of our existence as a State. That century is full of inspiration and encouragement for the future, and today the sons of Illinois, on a score of battlefields are writing new chapters in devotion and patriotism, and are proving themselves in every way worthy of the mighty past.

"This building, therefore, while it will enshrine the past, will also be a shelter for the present, and an inspiration to the future, and as our fathers disdained no task, however humble, as they, in their creation of a great commonwealth out of nothing, met the simplest and homliest duties of the hour, so we today must not refrain from doing some of the prosaic things which we must do, if we are to build another century of greatness for Illinois.

"I presume to say on this occasion to the people of Illinois, that in my judgment, we shall not begin the new century fittingly unless we shall embrace the opportunity presented to us, and make, as the beginning of the new century, a new Constitution for Illinois, a comprehensive system of permanent highways for Illinois, and shall remove the reproach of harboring financial institutions within our borders that have been built up by preying upon the weak and helpless of our State.

"And so I might say that we shall have a task—a task greater than I can define—if we are to live up to the traditions of these past hundred years, and let us look upon this cornerstone which we lay today, not simply as a cornerstone of this Memorial Building, but also as a cornerstone of a century of freedom and progress and greatness, such as made the century which we are closing today."

At 11:00 a. m., the statue of Stephen A. Douglas, by Gilbert P. Riswold, erected on the Capitol Grounds, was dedicated. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chairman of the Illinois Centennial Commission acted as chairman, and introduced Governor Frank O. Lowden as

the presiding officer. The principal address was given by Honorable Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the United States Navy.

In introducing Secretary Daniels, Governor Lowden said:

"Today is indeed a historic one. We are closing the doors of our first century, and opening those of our second, and it is exceedingly appropriate that on this day we dedicate two statues, in memory of the two men, who, political rivals for more than a quarter of a century, always remained friends, and who, in the last years of their lives became united in one patriotic passion for the preservation of their country.

"And whoever speaks the name of Lincoln must always think of his great political antagonist, Stephen A. Douglas. We should teach our children that when they have visited the monument to Lincoln's memory in Springfield—and I want to remind you that pilgrimages to that sacred tomb are being made oftener and oftener all the time from all the world—he should turn from that and visit the tomb of Stephen A. Douglas, upon the borders of our inland lake, and read above his dust his last words: 'Tell my children to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution.'

"But today my duty is simply to present to you one who will adequately speak of that great man of our first century, and it seems to me fitting, before I introduce this distinguished gentleman, that I should say one word of what our navy, and the navies of the world, are doing in this great crisis of our nation's life, because we are all familiar with the heroic exploits of our soldiers by land; we know that they have been winning anew for Illinois, and for the United States, new glory; we know that whatever the doubts of the pessimists have been, that the young manhood of America is proving itself worthy of the best traditions of the past.

"But we do not hear so much of the navy. They are obscured in the mists of the sea, guarding silently and effectively our country, and the countries of the Allies, and though they are less in the public view, they are none the less efficient, they are none the less entitled to the love and gratitude, than our soldiers of the battle front.

"Let it be remembered that the navies of the Allies dominate the waters of the earth. I think I learned that three quarters of

the surface of the globe consists of water. They are guarding those waters that the skies above them may be free for the flags of liberty and civilization during all this time.

"Only a day or two ago I read in a book of our torpedo destroyers this interesting incident. It appeared that Secretary Daniels, some month ago—many months ago—had sent a particular fleet of destroyers across the sea. The voyage for little ships of that kind was a great voyage, bringing a great strain, as was supposed, upon these little vessels, and when their commander reported at the naval base to the British Admiral who was in charge, he graciously said to their commander, 'You may have two days, or three days, or four days to get ready for action,' because he knew of the strain which they had withstood, and he asked the commander of the flotilla how long a time he required to be ready, and his answer was: 'we are ready now, sir.'

"And these little destroyers, threading in and out, have made, or helped to make, the danger zones safe for the transport of American soldiers, and American munitions of war.

"And so today to speak upon this great occasion, and upon this great theme, Stephen A. Douglas, it is my privilege and my honor to introduce to you, Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, who is responsible for these achievements of our navy in this war."

In his address, Secretary Daniels emphasized particularly the loyalty with which Senator Douglas supported President Lincoln at the beginning of the Civil War. He eulogized both Lincoln and Douglas, and drew from their lives lessons for the present great crisis.

Little Virginia Adams Douglas, eight years of age, the daughter of Robert D. Douglas, of Greensboro, North Carolina, a grandson of Stephen A. Douglas, placed a wreath at the foot of the Douglas statue as the concluding act of the dedicatory exercises.

At 2:30 in the afternoon the statue of Abraham Lincoln, by Andrew O'Conner, erected immediately in front of the State Capitol, was dedicated with impressive services, the principal address being given by Lord Charnwood of England, statesman, author, and a life-long student of Lincoln. Lord Charnwood was introduced by Governor Lowden.

Dr. O. L. Schmidt, Chairman of the Centennial Commission, received and read a telegram from President Woodrow Wilson congratulating the State of Illinois upon the achievements of its first century of Statehood and expressing regret that he was unable to be present and take part in the ceremonies.

Other features of the program were the recitation of Edwin Markham's "Lincoln, the Man of the People," by Donald Robertson, an address by Col. Clarendon E. Adams, National Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, representing the men of 1861-'65, who answered Lincoln's call to save free government for the world when the life of this nation was threatened, and Mr. Vachel Lindsay of Springfield recited his poem, "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight in Springfield."

The exercises were closed by the placing of a wreath on the statue of Abraham Lincoln by Miss Florence Lowden, daughter of Governor Lowden.

Sunday, October 6th, was particularly observed in Springfield, as it was throughout the State, as Centennial Sunday. All the churches of Springfield held special services in the morning.

A Field Mass in commemoration of the State's Centennial was held on the grounds of the Sacred Heart Academy, under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus and Daughters of Isabella, and was attended by more than twenty thousand people. Very Reverend Timothy Hickey, pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception of Springfield, and Vicar General of the Diocese of Alton, was the Celebrant. Reverend A. Smith, of Franklin, Illinois, delivered the Centennial sermon. Father Smith spoke especially of the important part the early Catholics had in the exploration, development and settlement of Illinois.

A chorus of one hundred and fifty voices, under the direction of Reverend J. W. Cummings, of Ohio, Illinois, sang the Farmers' Mass in B Flat, accompanied by an orchestra. The Mass was preceded by a parade of the Catholic Societies. A particular feature of this service was the reproduction of both our National Emblem and the Centennial Banner as living flags. More than five hundred young ladies, dressed in red, white and blue, standing on a raised amphitheater, represented the stars and stripes in their

proper relation. A group of younger girls dressed in the national blue and white of the Centennial banner represented that emblem. In the evening a banquet was given at the St. Nicholas Hotel by the Catholic Societies. Right Rev. Monsignor D. J. Riordan and Judge John P. McGoorty, of Chicago, were the speakers. Reverend Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., was toastmaster. Lord Charnwood and Robert D. Douglas were present, and spoke briefly as did also Dr. O. L. Schmidt, chairman and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, secretary of the Centennial Commission.

In the afternoon a reception was held at the Executive Mansion by Governor and Mrs. Lowden in honor of the former Governors of the State, and their descendants, and of the Centennial guests.

Descendants of Governors Bond, Edwards, Ford, Carlin, Bissell, Oglesby, Palmer and Tanner were present. Mr. Craig Hood a great grandson of Governor Bond delivered an interesting address. Governor and Mrs. Lowden and their daughter Miss Florence Lowden received the guests.

At seven o'clock in the evening a Patriotic Union Service was held at the State Arsenal, participated in by representatives of all the churches of the city, and attended by more than five thousand people. A brief address was given by Lord Charnwood and the sermon was delivered by Dr. Z. Barney Phillips, Rector of the St. Peter's Episcopal Church, St. Louis, Mo. The congregational singing was led by Mr. William Dodd Chenery. A feature of the program was music by the Colored Centennial Chorus of one hundred and fifty voices, under the direction of Prof. J. A. Munday, of Chicago.

The weather was exceptionally fine which added greatly to the comfort and impressiveness of the celebration.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR OCTOBER 4-5-6, 1918

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1918

4:00 to 6:00 P. M.

Reception to Sculptors of the Lincoln and Douglas
Statues and Centennial Guests by the Springfield
Art Association at Edwards Place

8:15 P. M.

"The Masque 'of Illinois," Coliseum, State Fair Grounds

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1918

10:30 A. M.

Laying of the Cornerstone of the Centennial Memorial Building

11:00 A. M.

Dedication of the statue of Stephen A. Douglas

Address.....By the Honorable Josephus Daniels
Secretary of the United States Navy

2:30 P. M.

Dedication of the statue of Abraham Lincoln

Address.....By Lord Charnwood

8:15 P. M.

"The Masque of Illinois"

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1918

10:30 A. M.

Field Mass on the grounds of the Sacred Heart Academy under the
auspices of the Knights of Columbus and Daughters of Isa-
bella

4:00 to 6:00 P. M.

Reception at Executive Mansion by Governor and Mrs. Lowden in
honor of former Governors of the State, descendants of former
Governors and the Centennial guests. The people are invited
to call and pay respects to the Governor and Mrs. Lowden and
the guests at this time.

7:00 P. M.

At the State Arsenal, Patriotic Union Service under the auspices
of the Illinois Centennial Commission and the Springfield
churches. Choral and community singing

Sermon.....By Rev. Z. Barney Phillips of St. Louis, Mo.

PROGRAM

1818 ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE 1918

COMMEMORATION OF THE CENTENARY

OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY,

OCTOBER 5, 6, 1918

PROGRAM

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1918

10:30 A. M.

Laying of the Cornerstone of the Centennial Memorial Building..Lieutenant Governor John G. Oglesby, Presiding Officer
 Music—"Illinois".....Led by Arthur Kraft

By thy rivers gently flowing,
 Illinois, Illinois,
 O'er thy prairies verdant growing,
 Illinois, Illinois,
 Comes an echo on the breeze,
 Rustling thro' the leafy trees,
 And its mellow tones are these,
 Illinois, Illinois,
 And its mellow tones are these,
 Illinois.

Not without thy wondrous story,
 Illinois, Illinois,
 Can be writ the nation's glory,
 Illinois, Illinois,
 On the record of thy years,
 Ab'ram Lincoln's name appears,
 Grant and Logan, and our tears,
 Illinois, Illinois,
 Grant and Logan, and our tears,
 Illinois.

Invocation.....Rev. Royal W. Ennis
 Presentation of Honorary Union Card to Governor Frank O.
 Lowden...Frank Cook, President Springfield Masons' Union

Laying of the Cornerstone.....By Governor Lowden
 Music—"The Star Spangled Banner".....Capital City Band
 11:00 A. M.

Dedication of the Statue of Stephen A. Douglas
 Chairman—Dr. O. L. Schmidt, Chairman of the Illinois Centennial Commission

Music—"The Star Spangled Banner"

Invocation.....Rev. Edgar DeWitt Johnson

Music—Keller's "American Hymn"

"Speed our Republic, O Father on high,
 Lead us in pathways of justice and right;
 Rulers as well as the ruled, one and all,
 Gird with virtue, the armor of might!
 Hail! three times hail to our country and flag!
 Rulers as well as ruled, one and all."

Introduction of Gilbert P. Riswold, the Sculptor of the
 Douglas Statue

Song—Arthur Kraft

Presentation of Governor Frank O. Lowden as Presiding Officer

Remarks by Governor Lowden, introducing the Hon. Joseph
 Daniels, Secretary of the United States Navy

Address—"Stephen A. Douglas".....Secretary Daniels

Music—"Battle Hymn of the Republic"

A wreath will then be placed on the statue of Stephen A. Douglas
 by his great grand-daughter, Virginia Adams Douglas

Music—"The Stars and Stripes Forever".....Band

Luncheon at the Leland Hotel by the Centennial Commission
 in honor of Governor Lowden, Secretary Daniels, Lord Charles
 Wood and invited guests.

2:30 P. M.

Dedication of Statue of Abraham Lincoln

Chairman—Dr. O. L. Schmidt, Chairman of the Illinois Centennial Commission

Invocation.....Rev. J. R. Thompson

Music—The Centennial Hymn, "Our Illinois".....Rice-Hooper

Our father's God, Thy name we bless
 And all Thy mercies we confess with solemn joy;

Our prairies rich with fruitful loam,
 Our rivers singing as they roam,
 The happiness that is our home,
 Our hope, our Illinois.

Eulogy—"Lincoln, The Man of the People," by Edwin Markham. Recited by Donald Robertson

Song—Arthur Kraft

*Introduction of Andrew O'Connor, the Sculptor of
 the Lincoln Statue

Music—"The Battle Cry of Freedom"

Presentation of Governor Frank O. Lowden as Presiding Officer

Remarks by Governor Lowden, introducing Lord Charnwood

Address—"Abraham Lincoln". Lord Charnwood

Song—Arthur Kraft

Music—"Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching"...Root

Address—Col. Clarendon E. Adams, National Commander Grand
 Army of the Republic

Music—"America"

A wreath will then be placed on the statue of Abraham Lincoln
 by Miss Florence Lowden

Music—"The Star Spangled Banner"

PATRIOTIC UNION SERVICE, OCTOBER 6, 1918

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

AND THE

SPRINGFIELD CHURCHES

EIGHT O'CLOCK P. M., STATE ARSENAL

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

PROGRAM

7:00 to 8:00 P. M.

Community Singing:

Under direction of Mr. William Dodd Chenery assisted by
 Mrs. Frank V. Partridge, soloist; Mr. R. Albert Guest,
 accompanist; and the John L. Taylor Orchestra.

* Mr. O'Connor was unable to be present.

The Colored Centennial Chorus:

Under the direction of Messrs. J. A. Mundy and A. Meek
will sing a group of negro folk hymns as follows:

"Deep River."

"Steal Away."

"I Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray."

"Swing Low, Sweet Chariot."

"Every Time I Feel the Spirit."

A PRAYER FOR OUR BOYS

BY HENRY VAN DYKE

Most Holy Righteous and Mighty Lord God, we submit our country's cause to Thee, and we commend our soldiers, sailors and aviators to Thy guidance and keeping in this war. Protect them amid the perils of the sea and the dangers of battle in a far land. Keep them sound in body, pure in heart, brave in spirit, ever loyal to Thee and to our country. Enable them to do valiant service for justice and freedom; strengthen them while they fight for the right; comfort and succor them if they are wounded, and if they must fall, receive them into eternal rest. But, Oh Most Merciful Father, we beseech Thee, bring these our sons back to us, with victory on their banners, with peace and love in their hearts. Accept and bless their sacrifice and ours, Oh Lord Our Strength and Our Redeemer. Amen.

ORDER OF SERVICE

8:00 P. M.

THE REV. LESTER LEAKE RILEY

Rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Presiding

Hymn—"The Star Spangled Banner"

Invocation.....The Rev. T. N. Ewing

Pastor First M. E. Church

Responsive Reading—Isaiah 26:

Scripture Reading—From Samuel II :22, and Psalm 121....

.....The Rev. I. Mortimer Bloom

Minister Temple B'rith Sholem

Hymn—"Onward Christian Soldiers"

Address.....Lord Charnwood

Solo—"Sancta Maria"—*Faure*.....Mrs. Helen Brown Read

Hymn—"America the Beautiful"

Prayer.....The Rev. S. Willis McFadden

Pastor Second Presbyterian Church

Sermon.....The Rev. Z. Barney Phillips

Rector St. Peter's Episcopal Church, St. Louis, Mo.

America—(With added stanza)

"God save our splendid men,
Send them safe home again,
God save our men.
Keep them victorious,
Patient and chivalrous,
They are so dear to us.
God save our men."

Benediction.....The Rev. William H. Nicholas

Pastor Grace Lutheran Church

ADDRESS BY HONORABLE JOSEPHUS DANIELS, SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY

The two presidents of the United States who more than any other have typified the real American spirit and glorified the product of the frontier in the days of adventure and development were Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. They touched the life of Stephen A. Douglas, the first his hero and his political mentor to whose teaching he gave full proof of loyal allegiance; the second his political competitor with whom he contested for high honor, winning and losing, and with whom, in his last days, he was co-worker in the preservation of the indissoluble union of indestructible states.

Before Jackson's election all our Presidents came out of the schools of Virginia and Massachusetts and either in culture or in views illustrated the training of Old England. To be sure they had been at war with what was then called "the Mother Country" before, out of all the stocks of Europe, the American became in

the melting pot a composite of mingled blood and differing faith and the varying habits of all nations who have made it a mighty republic.

Jefferson alone of them all lived amid the foothills of the mountains of the Old Dominion and from the heights of Monticello looked toward the West with the enthusiasm and faith of the seer. He saw in the rolling prairies and mountains, then just opening to settlement, the home of a people over whom a free air would always blow, building a civilization that would make the republic as vast in territory as it would be truly democratic in profession and in practice with the latch-string on the outside, an invitation to all who wished to live in the atmosphere of equal opportunity.

That vision caused Jefferson to send Lewis and Clark on the journey of discovery where they trekked to the extreme west where rolls the Oregon—but, impatient as he often was at the conventionalities in the seaboard colonies which sometimes fettered, cribbed and confined, Jefferson's education was not different from that of well-to-do youths of English birth.

But Jackson was the very incarnation of the day when the West caught the imagination and challenged the courage of young men to whom achievement is valued only when it overcomes obstacles. Born in the Scotch-Irish settlement of Waxhaw, North Carolina, before he attained his majority, the unconventional and heroic Jackson began his journey to what was then the West—the unbroken wildness of the forests of western North Carolina, where he fought his duel, established his fame and then moved on until he made his home in Tennessee, the farthestmost western territory, into which men of adventurous spirit were moving from what, even then, men of his temperament were calling “the effete east.”

In this congenial atmosphere Old Hickory became the central figure, and from the battle of New Orleans until his death was the dominant figure in America.

Abraham Lincoln was akin to Andrew Jackson in his early struggles, his unfettered mind, in his inflexible purpose, and in his devotion to the Union as evidenced by Jackson's vigorous steps to prevent nullification, and Lincoln's like victory over secession.

Where Jackson was a torrent of passion when aroused and none could stand before his denunciation, Lincoln was the incarnation of a patience born of power which was invincible and unconquerable. How much these men influenced the life of the illustrious statesman of whom I am to speak is a field that invites speculation and throws light upon the career of Stephen A. Douglas.

All youths of ambition are hero-worshippers. To the youthful Douglas, early orphaned and apprenticed to the trade of cabinet maker, the commanding and picturesque figure of Old Hickory was the perfection of the ideal American. Jackson's career as a soldier inspired his patriotism. His resolution to brook no opposition to his well conceived plans at New Orleans by arresting, imprisoning and banishing a Federal judge, challenged the admiration of the youth of the Green Mountain state, and his defiance of power by his veto of the charter of the National Bank so stirred young Douglas that he ever regarded Jackson as the embodiment of political wisdom and sound statesmanship.

During the twenty-five years that Mr. Douglas was in public life—and he held almost every office in the gift of the people—he followed the political paths blazed by Jackson, and was never so confident of the correctness of his position as when he felt he was taking the course that Jackson would have followed. Born in a far eastern state, his eyes early turned toward the expanding West, and, like his great exemplar, he made his home on the frontiers of the American settlement.

The rolling prairies called him, they broadened his conception of the future expansion of his country, and he became as truly western as though his eyes had first opened on the Father of Waters. The career of Douglas, like that of Lincoln, is illustrative of American opportunity. From the rude cabin to the most exalted station on earth is the epitome of Lincoln's life—a life that has beckoned many a farmer boy to diligence and to study. New England training made Douglas a mechanic. As a boy he was a cabinet maker, and his greatness has been an incentive to the youth to labor to attain skill in his craft.

Illinois was "the west" in their youth. Its rich lands were giving reward to the industry of the farmer. The tide of immi-

gration from Vermont and other New England states, and from Kentucky and other southern states, met in this commonwealth, already conscious of the coming greatness, which the new settlers were making possible. In this tide of on-coming makers of a state came the youthful and slender Douglas, with enough education to become a teacher, and Lincoln with less schooling, but with a latent power which was to give him immortal fame. Douglas early gave proof of the eloquence which later commanded listening senates. Lincoln matured more slowly. Both were nourished under the same sky, practiced in the same courts, won the admiration of men of like patriotism. Today the commonwealth which gave them welcome, when poor and unknown, they knocked at its doors for admittance, pauses in its centennial to do honor to them— its two most illustrious commoners, statesmen and patriots. A distinguished son of a noble empire will voice the world appreciation of Lincoln, who is too great to belong to any state or any nation, to any age or clime.

The honor is mine to speak of the illustrious "Little Giant," who, dying at the age of 48, had for eighteen years been the most influential leader in the hall of Congress, of whom it may be truly said, he, like Lincoln and Webster and Clay and Benton, belonged to the only American aristocracy of—

"Tall men, suncrowned, who live above the fog

"In public duty and in private thinking."

Mr. Douglas walked into the town of Winchester, Scott County, Illinois, in the autumn of 1833, with his coat on his arm, with thirty-seven cents in his pocket, all his earthly possessions. Within ten years he had been admitted to the bar, commanding a large practice, had been a member of the Illinois Legislature, prosecuting attorney, register of the land office, judge of the State Supreme Court and member-elect of the National House of Representatives. The succeeding eighteen years of his life he served as Representative and Senator in Congress, defeated Abraham Lincoln for the Senate, was defeated for President by Abraham Lincoln, and died in the middle of his senatorial term with the love and confidence of the people of Illinois of all parties and creeds, and

with the respect of the whole country which he had served with ability, singleness of purpose and with a vision of its possibilities that few of his era had seen with the eye of faith.

I am to speak to day not of the Douglas of the period of the Lincoln and Douglas debate when Greek met Greek, or of the epoch-making campaign for the presidency in which the victor of 1858 was defeated by his old-time adversary. In all history no debate so challenged the attention of the country. It determined the candidates of the two parties for the presidency in 1860. What the outcome of the election would have been if the party to which he belonged had given united support to Douglas is a conjecture that may be left to those who delight in reflecting upon what might have been. Rather, let us think today upon Douglas as the man, as the orator, as the political leader, as the champion of popular sovereignty, as the disciple of Old Hickory, as the masterful national party advocate, as the unquestioned leader in the Senate; but high and above all as the constructive statesman who more than any of his contemporaries contributed to national expansion, to internal improvements, to the Americanism that thinks in big terms and had the faith in his country's future which placed no limit upon its growth and greatness.

It has been popularly supposed because he was from early manhood engaged in the very thick of heated political campaigns, that politics was the breath of his nostrils. Superficial historians have failed to see that with him politics and office were never an end but always a means to securing the larger rights of the people and to promoting that national growth which were his earliest and latest dreams and his master passions. Other ambitions and loves had play in his busy life, but he ever shaped his course by the steady North Star of faith in the ability and right of his countrymen in each sovereign state to determine for themselves their local and domestic concerns, with the steadfast and fixed devotion to an indestructible union of indissoluble states. From these principles he never wavered.

The first public address Douglas made after his admittance to the bar was in defense of Jackson's veto of the National Bank

charter. Small of stature, a briefless barrister, he attended a meeting in Jacksonville called to endorse President Jackson's action. In the very center of culture of the young State, the site of its only college, his eloquence, his argument, his sound reasoning so impressed his hearers that he stepped into State fame and retained this high place in forensic debate until the day of his death. As his first public appearance was in defense of Jackson's actions which changed the fiscal policy of government, so when at the age of thirty years he became a member of Congress, his maiden speech in the House of Representatives was in vindication of the hero who inspired his boyish admiration and had profoundly influenced his political convictions and public life.

There are times when the ordinary civil processes must give way to emergency measures, but only for the period of national crises. Let us never forget that America places the military over the civilian government only to preserve conditions that insure the civilian supremacy.

No militarist could endure in our country. So deep-seated is our devotion to a government where military force is under civilian control that when, as happened in the case of Grant, a general is elevated to the position of president and as such is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, he must doff his military uniform and don civilian garb. But there are brief periods when national existence demands temporary military supremacy.

Such a time came when General Jackson was commanding the troops at New Orleans. He found it necessary in order to successfully execute his matchless strategy to declare martial law, and when opposed by a Federal judge General Jackson found it necessary to arrest the judicial officer, imprison and banish him. Jackson stopped at no half way measures to insure victory. Later when military rule was replaced by civil government, the judge fined General Jackson \$1,000 for contempt of court. Civilian government was again supreme and General Jackson bowed to the decree. Though tenders of the money came from many friends, General Jackson declined to accept the offer and paid the fine himself. There was never a better proof, that while the American people welcome martial law to save the life of the republic, they displace

it immediately when the peril that evoked it is over. For years a bill had been pending in Congress to repay General Jackson the \$1,000 which he had paid out of his own pocket. It slumbered on the calendar, but party feeling ran so high it could not pass. The first act of the young Illinois Congressman was to call up the measure, and his first appearance in debate was in support of the bill. He and other friends of Jackson wished vindication of their hero. Douglas proved to the satisfaction of Congress that it was not only Jackson's right under the circumstances to declare martial law, but that he would have been recreant to his duty if he had failed to take such vigorous action. The action in that case was the precedent which has been followed from that day to this.

When Mr. Douglas met his hero face to face years afterwards, in a call at the Hermitage, General Jackson said to Douglas, "I always knew I was in the right at New Orleans, but I never understood just how and why until I read your speech."

The lesson of this hour which we draw from the life of Douglas is far removed from the forum of politics and the debates of questions which stirred the people in the fifties. They are valuable only in illustrating his convictions and consistency and the ability he displayed in defending them and winning the approval of those who heard or read his able addresses. It seems a thousand years since people grew heated over these differences. Now that the whole world is in the throes of a great war to decide whether the world can endure half democratic and half autocratic, in the clear retrospect we can appraise the heights of devotion to country in the example which Douglas set to his countrymen then and now. He had devoted his life to the settlement of radical differences over a question which could not be composed by an adjustment or compromise. Clay, with like love of a united republic, had postponed the conclusion. Douglas in his Nebraska bill and squatter sovereignty believed he had found a solution. Clay did not live to see that this remedy was a postponement. Douglas in sorrow saw the disunion which he had patriotically sought to avert.

But when war came, in spite of his blood sweating attempts to avoid a clash between brothers, he had not a moment of hesitation as to the course he would pursue. His State called its sons to preserve the Union. With all the powers he could command he united his voice with that of Lincoln in calling the people, though it was a painful duty to one who gave twenty years to averting the sectional conflict, to take up arms, to maintain undivided the great republic upon whose solidarity he believed depended the hope of free government in the western hemisphere. As Senator from this great commonwealth, he stood behind Lincoln when he delivered his inaugural address. He stood behind him physically, and behind him with full weight of his ability, his counsel, his eloquence and the leadership of a great party which had given him 1,300,000 votes, and which in Grant and Logan and McClellan and Hancock contributed generals of distinction, and from its rank and file poured into the regiments, men who fought as valiantly for the Union as did the men of different political faith. It was a seemingly insignificant incident, which cheered all who were hoping war could be averted, when, as Lincoln was introduced, he looked about for a place to deposit his hat, Senator Douglas stepped forward and took it and held it. That act had a world of meaning as the future course of Douglas evidenced. "One blast upon his bugle horn was worth a million men."

When a people are at war, partisanship if it be based upon love of country burgeons into patriotism. Mr. Douglas had been a partisan of partisans. The man to whom the reins of government had been entrusted had been his political foe. In the moment of the peril of the perpetuity of the Union, Mr. Douglas forgot his defeat, forgot political consideration, forgot any resentment or disappointments, forgot everything but the supreme fact that the united republic he loved was threatened with separation and all which that involved to American greatness. In that hour he made full dedication of himself and his powers, rallied the forces of defense of a united republic that should stretch from lakes to gulf and from ocean to ocean.

And he fell as truly in his country's cause, speaking and counselling for united support to Mr. Lincoln, as the men who gave

their lives on the field of battle, under the leadership of Grant and Logan. He died with the prayer in his heart, so eloquently uttered by Webster, with whom he was kindred spirit, "When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun of heaven, may I not see him shining in the broken dishonored fragment of a once glorius Union; or states dissevered, discordant * * *. Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored, throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and its trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto * * * spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that sentiment, dear to every American heart, Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

That classic from America's first orator was the utterance of the great son of the Bay State, who, though of an opposite party, was one with Douglas in endeavoring to find a way to preserve the Union and to avert the war whose coming shadow was to them a tragedy too awful to contemplate. Neither Webster nor Douglas yearned for continuing peace more ardently than did Abraham Lincoln, as is evidenced by the great Emancipator's inaugural address. That inaugural was the key note of his deep feeling and his administrative acts. To the southern leaders he held out the olive branch in the same spirit, if not after the manner of Douglas, when he declared: "We are not enemies, but friends. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."

We have often been assured that the war between the states was inevitable and nothing could have averted it. That fatalism may be right, but I have never given my assent to such a doctrine either as to that war of brothers or to the present world war. I am one of those who believe war is not foreordained but comes only by man's disobedience of the laws of God. It is not for us at this distant day to assess the responsibility for that terrible nightmare. Today, as Illinois honors Lincoln and Douglas, it is sufficient that the State may have the distinction that both these emi-

nent men, in differing ways sought to the last to avert it without separation of the Republic, and that both were free from hate, passion or revenge, and both cherished the hope we have lived to realize, that the sections once estranged are again friends, having no differences. Each is straining to contribute to the fullest of the flower of its manhood in this war to make the world safe for democracy, and afterwards to see to it that democracy is made safe for the world.

It was no new point of view, when in 1861, hurrying to Springfield after a conference with the President, Mr. Douglas addressed the General Assembly and summoned the people to united support of the perpetuity of the Union. After the "most straitest sect" he was a State's Right Democrat, but he was true in this as in all things to the example of Andrew Jackson, a Democrat of Democrats, who drew the line at secession or nullification or anything that impaired national existence, whether harbored in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, South Carolina or by the Confederacy.

He had no tolerance with the spirit that did not give whole hearted support to his country when its lawful authorities had declared war. I think he held with the creed of that noble American, Admiral Stephen Decatur, who declared: "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our Country, right or wrong." To him "Our Country" embraced every foot of land from the Rio Grande to the Great Lakes and from his birth place in the Green Mountain State to Oregon, to whose admission to all American rights he gave earnest effort. This life-long devotion to his country's cause in war impelled him to employ vigorous denunciation of those who not only gave half-hearted support to America when waging the war with Mexico, but who while our brave soldiers were ready to make supreme sacrifice on the field of battle denounced the war as "unholy, unrighteous, and damnable." Rising in hot indignation at what he regarded as their unpatriotic criticism, Mr. Douglas, when a member of the House of Representatives thus vehemently denounced their course:

"I tell these gentlemen that it requires more charity than falls to the lot of frail man to believe that the expression of such sentiments is consistent with the sincerity of their professions—with patriotism, honor, and duty to their country. Patriotism emanates from the heart; it fills the soul; inspires the whole man with a devotion to his country's cause and speaks and acts the same language. America wants no friends, acknowledges the fidelity of no citizen who, after war is declared, condemns the justice of her cause and sympathizes with the enemy; all such are traitors in their hearts, and it only remains for them to commit some overt act for which they may be dealt with according to their deserts."

The Douglas of 1846 spoke the same language which was spoken by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis of Chicago recently when he sentenced to prison those Americans who, after war was declared, by voice and overt act gave aid and comfort to the enemies of their country. The climax of the address of Douglas in his address before the General Assembly of Illinois in 1861, "The shortest way now to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparation for war," is the admonition which America has heeded in this day of its participation in the world-wide struggle.

Eliminating the controversial questions, upon which parties and men widely differed, Mr. Douglas' claim to fame may be said to rest upon these solid, practical contributions:

1. He pioneered the internal improvements which blessed Illinois with the Illinois Central Railroad and it is to his wise foresight that the State of Illinois derives a large revenue from its operation. In nearly every other instance, all profits accrued to the owners of the road without return to Commonwealth or republic without whose aid the construction of the road would have been impossible. The precedent has been followed by other states and many cities without thought that they were following the precedent of Douglas.

2. He gave support and impetus to the construction of a transcontinental railroad, in keeping with his consistent optimism and faith in the West. He saw in his day, as with the vision of a prophet, the prosperity of the Golden West to whose government

and development he was the chief legislative guide and to whose people he was the friendly mentor.

3. His unwavering, uncompromising, courageous advocacy of the right of the people to decide for themselves the kind of government they desired, and the ability of the people to decide for themselves better than any others could make decision for them.

That doctrine was his pillar of cloud by day and his pillar of fire by night and he was ever ready to defend it whenever and by whomever challenged. In the defense of this principle he broke with the administration on the question of the Lecompton constitution upon the admission of Kansas as a state.

It required courage for a 'thick and thin' party leader like Douglas to go to the White House and tell Mr. Buchanan that if the President pressed the Lecompton constitution he would oppose its adoption on the floor of the Senate, but this was not the first time Douglas had opposed measures of his own party administration that contravened his devotion to giving effect to the will of the people.

With him that duty transcended all others. The story of that interview in the White House has been often told. When all other arguments failed to secure the support of Douglas, the President said: "Senator, I wish you to remember that no Democrat was ever successful in opposing the policy of an administration of his party," whereupon Senator Douglas drew himself up with dignity and replied: "Mr. President, permit me most respectfully to remind you that General Jackson is dead," and withdrew.

Not only in his own state and in the republic did Mr. Douglas throw the full weight of his influence in behalf of full control of government by all the people and oppose all limitations upon their right, but he gave advice and counsel which helped to end borough representation and unfair discrimination, that existed in old commonwealths. Let me cite a concrete example of his healthy influence in my own state, North Carolina, with which Mr. Douglas was closely identified and which shares with Illinois the honors done him. When he was a young member of the House, Mr. Douglas formed a close friendship with David S. Reid of North Carolina, afterwards Governor and Senator. Through this friendship

Mr. Douglas met the lady who became his wife, Miss Martha Denny Martin, daughter of Col. Robert Martin, an influential planter.

His oldest son, Stephen A. Douglas, Jr., was born in North Carolina; his other son, the late Hon. Robert M. Douglas, justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, resided there from the time of his father's death, and all the descendants live in North Carolina, and I am happy to say his grandson, Robert D. Douglas of Greensboro and his daughter are here. She has been invited to unveil the statue here today of her illustrious ancestor. Mr. Douglas' intimate association with North Carolinians, after his marriage, and his knowledge of North Carolina politics caused him to give wise counsel to Mr. Reid, which helped to make Reid Governor and Senator and convert North Carolina from a Whig to a Democratic State.

4. His large conception of American expansion, of the destiny of his country to exercise a constantly increasing influence as a world-power. "No pent-up Utica contracted" his vision. It thrilled him, as a partisan, that the Florida and Louisiana territories had been secured by Democratic Presidents, and also under Presidents of his party Texas and California and the vast expanse of territory that makes up the far West, were added to our domain. He ardently supported the Mexican War. As chairman of the Committee on Territories it gave him pride to see them develop and be carved into sovereign states of the Union. But, though he was happy that through the agency of his party American territory and American opportunity had been enlarged, his chief rejoicing was because he believed, as a patriot, expansion would afford a larger plane upon which to demonstrate the superiority of popular government.

He dreamed of still greater expansion, and was one of the most aggressive advocates of the shibboleth "55-40 or fight," believing that the Oregon line should extend to that boundary. So profoundly was he convinced of this right of America that when by an agreement with Great Britain less territory was secured for his country, he declined to vote for the treaty. Long before John T. Morgan was born, he had dreamed of an Isthmian canal, and he held with Humboldt's view expressed in 1827, that the United States would see to it that this canal should be in American hands

Because Douglas believed, after California and the far West were incorporated into the United States, this government must undertake that great work, he fought the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty on the ground that it might hinder or embarrass us when we were ready to build the Isthmian Canal, and might prevent annexation of any territory to this Republic if time should show that further expansion would be advantageous to the United States, and any other territory desiring to be incorporated. His big Americanism, born of his full acceptance of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, went further and he took the grounds that under the Monroe Doctrine, no European country should have a voice in the destiny of the affairs of this hemisphere. In his argument against the treaty, Douglas told of a conversation he had with Sir Henry Bulwer. In response to Bulwer's statement that Douglas' position was unfair because the provisions of the treaty were reciprocal, Douglas said in the Senate: "I told him it would be fair if they would add one word to the treaty so that it would read that neither Great Britain nor the United States should ever occupy or hold dominion over Central America or Asia." "But," said he, "you have no interest in Asia." "No," answered I, "and you have none in Central America." "But," said he, "you can never establish any rights in Asia." "No," said I, "and we don't mean that you shall ever establish any in America."

The day came which Douglas foresaw, that America would dig the Panama Canal. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty required negotiation before the vast work could be made national. Happily Great Britain sought no other colonies on this hemisphere; happily our cordial relations made easy the negotiations, and none of the fears of Douglas were realized. His position, wise or unwise, is illustrated to show his ambition for American domination on this hemisphere and his devotion to both the letter and spirit of the Monroe Doctrine.

Today the ties between Great Britain and the United States have been cemented in blood, and if it be given to those who have gone before to know what transpires here, Douglas must be happy that the allied aims and purposes of these two great English-speaking races are in accord in their right to insure for all the world

the same freedom and liberty to which Douglas devoted his great abilities.

It is particularly timely to call attention at this moment to the man who set perhaps the most noteworthy example in our history of the submergence of political rancor, of selfish ambition, of everything savoring of party politics, in order that a great war might be won. There is no finer example for us to follow today than that of Stephen A. Douglas in what would have been to men of less broadness of mind and strength of character the bitterest hour of their lives. To all of us tempted to let matters political, selfish ambitions or personal profit of any kind, cloud our clear vision in this trying hour, I would like to paint the picture of Stephen A. Douglas, defeated after the most notable political campaign in our history, a campaign filled with more bitterness, more personal rancor than any presidential campaign in this country, standing by the side of President Lincoln as he took the oath of office, taking from him his hat as he bared his head for the solemn oath, and from that moment to the end loyally, faithfully and sincerely, upholding the hands of Lincoln in the trying days of Civil War that followed.

There was much in the career of Douglas to prove that he was an able man, a brilliant man, and a wise statesman, but this one act raises him in itself above mere brilliancy and ability, and entitles him to stand as one of the really great men of our country. To forget self, to forget parties, to forget everything but the necessity of our country in her time of need, that is the acid test of real greatness.

When President Lincoln stood at Gettysburg he asked that we dedicate, not that historic ground to the nation, but that the nation dedicate itself to the principles for which men had there given their lives, to the principles of a united country, which were finally triumphant on that famous field. And it seems to me that we might in the same way, here dedicate not this memorial to the man, but ourselves to the carrying out of the great example of unselfish patriotism shown by the man honored by this memorial. Let us here and now highly resolve to dedicate ourselves to the subordination of everything which can hinder or block or confuse

the minds of our people, which can render uncertain, by unfounded doubts and suspicion, our fixed determination to win this war through the power of absolutely united effort on the part of every citizen of this country.

Let us forget, as this great man forgot, everything but our country.

REMARKS OF GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN, INTRODUCING LORD CHARNWOOD

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Illinois cannot well recount her past without paying tribute to her Lincoln. Great as have been her achievements, the greatest thing of all in her hundred closing years was her gift of Lincoln to the nation and the world.

In the last few years no greater tribute has been paid to his life than has been paid by the great English publicist and author, Lord Charnwood, and he has come across the seas to be with us today and join with the younger branch of the English speaking race in paying tribute to this matchless man, and I want to remind Lord Charnwood that his is not the first contribution to the history of America from which we have profited.

One hundred and forty years ago, when we had some slight difference with the English crown, it was to English authors, sir, that we went for argument to combat your government, and we quoted from Lord Chatham and Edmund Burke in support of our position at that time, and when the war ended we had won, not only independence for ourselves, but the democracy of England had won an equal victory. At the surrender of Yorktown, England learned a new colonial policy, and that great empire, sir, which spans the globe today, and keeps the flag of liberty floating around the world, had its birth in this little difference which our nation had with you at that time.

And so today there is nothing more fitting than that the Cross of St. George and the Stars and Stripes of the United States should float side by side on a score of battle-fields for liberty, humanity and civilization.

I recall that when Mr. Lincoln, the priceless heritage of our first hundred years, our comfort in the present, and our inspiration for the future, pronounced the deathless Gettysburg speech, we, his countrymen, then were deaf to its charm, and deaf to its greatness. It remained for England to discover that upon that battlefield the most perfect bit of English language that had sprung from the heart and brain of an Anglo-Saxon anywhere were those lines which Lincoln then produced. As it was England who discovered that gem, so it is fitting today on this hundredth anniversary of our Statehood that Lord Charnwood should join with us in the dedication of this statue which you behold. Lord Charnwood, it gives me very great pleasure, sir, to present you to this audience of typical Illinoisans, and therefore, typical Americans.

ADDRESS OF LORD CHARNWOOD

Mr. Chairman, Governor Lowden, Mr. Daniels, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the first place I have a message to give you, which is from my countrymen, not in England only, but in all those self-governing communities from Newfoundland to New Zealand, from South Africa to Canada, which are linked with England in this war. It is a message, I would even say, from not a few men among those strange nations of the East, in India, which even today, under the guardianship of England and her colonies, are making their first steps in the path of self-government. I have no right whatever to speak also for the French, our masters, and yours, in so many ways, but I am going to speak for them.

On behalf of all of these, the self-governing communities of the world outside of this Union, I beg to offer the most heartfelt congratulations and birthday good wishes to the great Commonwealth of Illinois, older than some of those communities, and younger, again, it may be by some years, than England, which now completes these hundred years of vigorous life, which have won it so high a place among the free commonwealths of the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Among the great dead who have spoken the English language, more and more as the years go on, two men stand out, eclipsing all others, not only by the loftiness

of their genius, but by the appeal which they make to the common heart of men. One of them was William Shakespeare, and the other—by the way, a great student of Shakespeare,—was Abraham Lincoln.

In this terrible struggle in which all civilization is involved, to what statesmen of the past can we turn in comparison for lessons of wise statesmanship, effectual and profound? Why, it is a singular fact that there is no statesman, however able, whose example is so often quoted in England today as that of Abraham Lincoln.

But there is more than that. Men are fighting, men are dying today, for ideas of democracy, of freedom, of equality. It is well, when our sons are dying for that, that we should sometimes consider a little deeply what these words mean. How can we govern ourselves, when some of us, God knows, are not wise? In what sense are men equal, ought they to be equal, when in certain obvious ways nature herself has fashioned them so unequal? Where shall we look for the answer to these paradoxes which sometimes baffle us? I speak as a student. There is no statesman, no poet, no philosopher, whose thoughts on these deep matters, are at once so profound and far reaching, and put in language so transparently simple, as Abraham Lincoln. And perhaps the deepest philosophy that was ever uttered on these momentous questions of democracy was uttered upon Illinois platforms in those wonderful debates which Lincoln held upon your soil with the great Douglas, his generous antagonist and when the great crisis came, his friend, who was so worthily commemorated this morning.

But there is something more than that. Beyond his statesmanship, beyond the profundity of his thought, beyond the poetry of his language, there was something interwoven with his genius, which brings it singularly near to the hearts of men of all conditions and characters and kinds, wherever their lot in life may be cast.

I might well, I think, ask first this question: How comes it that not only I, brought up as an English boy, but untold thousands of Englishmen, I can safely say, though we knew little of America, and understood nothing at all about the issues of your Civil War,

nevertheless, quite early in boyhood fell under the spell of Lincoln's name?

I think in part it is for this reason: there is a type of manhood—it has, of course, its corresponding type of womanhood—but there is a type of manhood which at his mother's knee, every well brought up American boy has been taught to think of as American, and which every well brought up English boy has been taught to think of as English. It is the type of the man who can, when the occasion comes, be the most terrible of all fighting men, but who, in the main, and more and more as the years go by, is above all things gentle and pitiful in his dealings, absolutely honest, and in his inner heart, intensely humble.

It is a type which bears some resemblance to the old world ideal of the chivalrous knight, but it differs from it; it is more simple, more humble, more full of sound common sense, and more ready always to take life upon the amusing side. Well, of that type of manhood which I have described so poorly, but which all of us recognize, the very pattern in history was Abraham Lincoln.

Let me ask again, how is it that of all great statesmen, however, much we revere their names, none has such a hold upon our affection as Lincoln has? Chiefly it is this: More than any of them he brought to bear on great questions of state just that sort of wisdom which every man and woman can apply in the common affairs of his or her daily life. There never was a great man who had so thoroughly learned, so heartily accepted, the hard and wholesome conditions of our common human life, set as we are in a world which is always very puzzling, and is sometimes very rough; set as we are to do the best we can, and not to dream about some impossible better; set as we are to do the best we can and yet be always awake to the better which may any day suddenly become possible. That is the union of the practical man and the idealist, a union without which practical qualities and idealism are alike—vanity. Of that union again the pattern for all time was Abraham Lincoln.

With the help of Mr. O'Conner's work, and that of other artists, with the help of some of those old friends of Lincoln, a few of whom I have had the privilege of meeting this day, we

seem to see the man himself as we read his character in some of those simple sentences of his. "I am here," he seems to say, "I must do the best I can to bear the responsibility of taking the course which I feel I ought to take." "The subject is on my mind day and night; whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do." "I see the storm coming, and I know that God's hand is in it. If he has a place and a work for me, and I think he has, I believe I am ready."

These are the unmistakable accents of a manly humility, which is, perhaps, the most uncommon of all the Christian graces, but which, when it is really there, gives to its possessor, a tremendous power.

Humble he was, and we cherish his memory for every little thing about it, that to the unthinking mind might seem rough, for the little things that remind one that he had been and was proud to have been a day laborer upon Illinois soil. These things endear him to us. Don't let them hide from us the fact that he had the statesman's genius, and that he had the prophet's vision. And so, before I commence drawing to a close, may I, read to you, and may I ask you to note their significance today, some words which he spoke on that last journey from Springfield on his way to occupy the President's chair at Washington.

He was speaking, as he said, and as I believe without preparation, in the Hall of Independence at Philadelphia. He said: "I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept the confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation from the motherland, it was that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not only to the people of this country, but a hope to the world for all future time." "It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

We are beginning to see that prophecy fulfilled. Of course I do not mean that in this war, or any single struggle, we shall perfectly achieve those ideals of human progress after which you, with your magnificent daring dash, and we, in our persistent, blundering, faithful way, are striving through the ages.

Not one war will win that far goal. Every great work that is done is, in his familiar phrase, "a work thus far so nobly advanced." But the work which Lincoln accomplished when he saved the Union of these States was an indispensable step to the work which we and our sons have set our hands to do today—from which neither America, nor France, nor the British Empire, will turn back until our purpose is accomplished.

Governor Lowden, in his gracious telegram to invite me here, spoke of the fact that Americans and Englishmen are now fighting side by side on behalf of those principles for which Lincoln lived and died. Yes, we meet here in the presence of the dead. Thinking of that great man, we think all the while of the fields where my nephews have fallen, where, if the war lasts, my son may fall; where, it seems to me, all the best young men I knew at home have fallen, and fallen not in vain. Where lives, it hurts the heart to think how many have had to be sacrificed by the French, and sacrificed not in vain. And where the sons of America and the sons of Illinois are now falling, and falling not in vain.

I cannot find words of mine fitting to sum up the feelings of this day, and I must turn to the words so often quoted, and never quoted once too often; words in which you will permit, and he would invite me, to make one trifling change: "We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain." "That our far-scattered, yet united nations, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

THE CHICAGO CELEBRATION, OCTOBER 8-13, 1918

Chicago held its Centennial celebration during the week beginning October the 8th, and ending October 13th. Patriotic mass meetings were held in the Auditorium on the evenings of October the 8th and 12th, and a beautiful historical pageant was given on the evenings of October 9, 10, 11 and on the afternoon of October 12th. On Sunday, October the 13th, the Illinois Centennial Monument was dedicated in Logan Square.

The celebration was held under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Committee of Chicago, and the State Council of Defense, with the cooperation of the Illinois Centennial Commission.

The pageant was written by Arthur Hercz, with special music by G. Paoli, Daniel Protheroe and Walter G. Goodell. It was produced under the direction of Mr. Hercz, pageant master, and Lillian Fitch and Bertha L. Iles, assistants. One scene was produced by the drama league under the direction of Mrs. A. Starr Best. The musical directors of the pageant were Daniel Protheroe and William Weil. The dances were arranged and directed by Marie Yung. August M. Eigen was stage director, with Thomas Phillips as assistant.

All the seats in the Auditorium were free, but the boxes were sold for \$50 each. The house was packed at each presentation of the pageant.

The pageant was highly praised both for its artistic quality and its historical accuracy. The various scenes were beautifully staged and the music and lines were most pleasing.

The pageant opened with the Indian period and then followed the history of the territory and State, on down to the present, showing the arrival of Marquette and Joliet, the settlement of Kaskaskia, the Fort Dearborn Massacre, the admission of the State into the Union, the reception of LaFayette, the development of the State prior to the Civil War, the Civil War, the Chicago Fire, the

World's Fair, and finally the call to arms in the present war. A striking feature was the roll call of nations made up of various nationalities, each dressed in a costume of the nation represented, and showing the National Flag.

The Illinois Centennial Monument was dedicated in Logan Square at three o'clock, Sunday afternoon, with appropriate exercises. W. Tudor ApMadoc presided. The dedication was under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Committee of Chicago. Reverend John Timothy Stone, D. D., delivered the invocation, and Governor Frank O. Lowden delivered the address. The presentation of the monument was by Charles L. Hutchinson, President of the Art Institute of Chicago, and the acceptance by Jens C. Jansen, member of the West Chicago Park Commission.

The monument was erected with money provided by the Benjamin Franklin Ferguson Fund, a bequest providing an income which is to be expended by the trustees of the Art Institute of Chicago, for the erection and maintenance of enduring statuary and monuments in Chicago in commemoration of worthy men or women, or important events of American history.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN AT THE
DEDICATION OF THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL
MONUMENT IN LOGAN SQUARE,
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1918

Mr. Chairman, Veterans of the Civil War, the Newest Recruits to the Present World-War, Ladies and Gentlemen: I do not recall that I have ever seen in Chicago a more impressive scene than this we behold today. Coming as it does at the end of our first great century of progress and civilization, staged at the meeting of these four great highways of Chicago, the Centennial memorial piercing as it does the blue above, this celebration makes a picture such as I do not recall to have ever seen the like of before in this great city of yours by the inland sea.

I want to pay my tribute to the genius which has wrought this triumph of art. They who help us build these monuments to our mighty past help to inspire us to a greater future.

Coming as this event does in the midst of this great war that is raging all around the earth, let us see if we can gather some lessons from our past which will help us in our perilous present. No one in Illinois can in this Centennial year recount the glories of our past without recalling the central figure of the last century, her own beloved Lincoln.

Today I want to remind you that Lincoln too had his great temptations to enter upon a premature peace; but Lincoln declared that war had been forced upon us, that we were compelled to take up arms for a certain object, and when that object was attained we would grant peace and not before.

So today in the presence of this great concourse of people, I am sure that I am right when I say that the President of today, when he answers this last peace note from Berlin, will insist that we too entered upon this war for an object, and that until that object is attained there can be no peace.

That object, my friends, what was it? Declared in clear and indisputable terms by the President himself, it was to destroy the kind of government which had wrecked the peace of the world. Until that government which had inflicted untold miseries and sufferings upon humanity throughout the earth is crushed, and in its stead there comes a government of the people and all the people, the peace of the future is not secure, and the object of this war will not have been accomplished.

This effort which emanates from Berlin is being made not so much because she desires peace as that she desires a few months respite from our attacks on her western front, until she can gather up her shattered forces again and await us in her stronger fortifications upon her own frontier.

So, if we, misled for the moment, were to grant an armistice at this time, it would add to the sufferings of your boys who are at the front and would prolong this war.

Now, let us, in Chicago and Illinois, and the United States, imitate our sons upon the battle fronts and when peace is urged answer that plea by a renewed assault all along the line. They have the true idea of the only path that will lead to peace, and if we at home are worthy of those boys, we will meet every duty

that comes to us, and the first and most immediate duty is to over-subscribe the Fourth Liberty Loan.

I want to remind you that a few months ago we all asked nothing more of our soldiers on the battle front than that they should stay the enemy during the remainder of this year, hold them where they were and with another year we might hope for victory. That is all we demanded of these boys ninety days ago, but they not only have stayed the enemy where he was, but have driven him back from day to day until, as I speak, all of the gains of our enemy for those four months have been blotted out and more besides.

The American soldiers in the battle line have not only met their undertaking, but they have more than met it—they have over-subscribed and over-paid their undertaking in this war.

Now, shall it be said of those of us who remain at home that we shall not over-subscribe our undertaking?

I want to read to you today, briefly, on this subject of peace, what a distinguished German journalist himself said of the German people in this war but a few weeks ago.

Dr. Rosemeyer, who was asked why he did not write something to move the German people to an understanding of the real issues involved in this war, said:

“Nonsense! Haven’t I been writing my fingers off for thirty years! What those fellows need is not ideas for their brains, they need bombs on their skulls. Help can only come from one place—from Bethlehem—Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. They will cheat you yet, those Junkers. Having won half of the world by bloody murder, they are going to win the other half with tears in their eyes, crying for mercy.”

That is what this great German writer, who knew the Prussian mind and the Prussian heart, said of the Pan-Germans themselves, and today, by their tears and their cries for mercy and their professions of love for justice, they are asking for a peace with the spoils of their bloody crimes in their hands, without reparation for a single one of the infamies they have perpetrated upon an un-offending world.

My friends, this war is not over. Let us not delude ourselves. It is not over, because we cannot be true to our soldiers who have made the last supreme sacrifice for us, and make a peace short of unconditional surrender.

I want to give you a form by which to answer the next note that Berlin writes to us. I call some of you old heroes of the Civil War to witness the sort of correspondence which went on between General Buckner of the Confederate forces and General Grant of our forces, at Fort Donelson. Buckner only asked for an armistice of six hours, and for the appointment of commissioners to arrange the terms of a possible surrender. A note somewhat like the last German note, except that only a six hours' armistice was asked by Buckner, while if the armistice is granted in this case, it will be prolonged until the Germans have reorganized their shattered armies and are ready to meet us on another battle field.

Grant received that note and this is his reply: "No terms will be accepted except immediate and unconditional surrender. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

So now, with the German armies in a condition of demoralization and despair, the time is not for an armistice, but the language of Grant. If you will let Pershing and his boys and our brave Allies alone they will move immediately upon the enemy's works.

I cannot tell you, my friends, how proud I am to be here this afternoon. I can't tell you how much hope brightened within me when I saw these hundreds of new recruits pass by. Three days some of them have been training, and you saw their martial bearing and their martial tread. When you see what we make of these American soldiers in seventy-two hours, is it any wonder that they are adding new glory to the American flag every day on every battle front?

A letter that I have received from an officer in France said that if every commissioned officer of an American regiment is killed or disabled and seventy-five per cent of the rank and file become disabled, the other twenty-five per cent will still go forward under the command of a sergeant or a corporal, if need be.

That is not possible under any other form of government than ours, where every man is the equal of every other man. In a mili-

tary autocracy which holds that all the earth and the fruits thereof belong to the favored few, and that the great mass of mankind must toil in order that the few may enjoy the luxuries of life, you cannot develop an army which will move forward under the command of the humblest man in the force; but a democracy which recognizes no essential distinction between one man and another, is capable of producing armies like this. That is why Chateau Thierry is a name that will be remembered forever in American annals and will be written along with those other great names in American history, Valley Forge, Yorktown, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Appomattox; because it was at Chateau Thierry that the American soldiers helped turn the tide of this battle which had been running against the Allies for four months; and it is now running so strongly against the Central Empires that they are trying to cajole us with honeyed talk of peace long enough to gather up their broken army; so that they may still offer resistance to us on another battle line.

Think of the glorious pages of history which our boys wrote at St. Mihiel, where Pershing's army as an independent unit first appeared.

So I am proud to be over here in the heart of this great west side, which is showing us the type of the new American. Something was said about Americanization by the distinguished chairman. It is a worthy work, in which we all must interest ourselves; but the most complete Americanization that is being wrought, is being wrought upon these battle fields. Take up our casualty lists any day, and note the names of a half dozen nationalities side by side. When a boy is fighting in the American uniform in the cause of the world's liberty and civilization, it doesn't matter how his name is spelled, that name is an American name forever more. So when the sons of Poland, the sons of Scandinavia, the sons of Bohemia, the sons of Italy, aye, and the sons of Germany too are fighting under the same banner, the cause of civilization, those boys are Americanized in a very brief time; and no one will be heard to reproach them upon their return for any lack of true Americanism. There is no place in all the world where brotherhood can find surer home than in the trenches upon the battle front; because

when men have undergone the hardships of war, side by side, awaiting the morrow to meet the common foe, they are not likely ever again to clash over race or religious prejudices. A real brotherhood is possible there, and you veterans of the Civil War know how dear to your hearts is the name of "Comrade." You know what that mighty tie means, how, closer than a brother the real comrade is. So we will have two millions and more when this war is over of new comrades formed in the furnace of this mighty war returning to America, and we will have a new spirit of brotherhood throughout the land as a result.

My friends, awful as is war, frightful as are the sufferings which our boys' endure, mighty as the sacrifice is that we all must make, there will be some compensation growing out of this war. I am sure of that. Let me read to you a letter which I brought, and this is for the benefit of the mothers, for they have the hardest part to bear. I know something of the mother's heart; I know that in its deep and mysterious recesses every pain that her son suffers is reproduced within herself. I know that she not only suffers all the agonies that come to her son, but that she has not the stimulus of action to help her bear her pain. The mother's part in war is always the hardest part. So I want to read this letter from a young lad who belongs to the United States Marines, written to his mother a few weeks ago:

"The past six months has made home and mother very dear and sacred to me, and to thousands of other boys. God helping me, I will commit no sin that by His help I can avoid. God bless and help you folks. Do not worry about me, morally or physically. If I should meet death, I will die like a man for the most sacred cause our country or any other country has ever called upon mothers to give their sons to; but I am certain that I am coming back, and coming back a man. I am sure that you will never regret that you signed your name to my enlistment papers last April. God bless you, mother. Your loving son."

Similar letters are coming from the battle front every day. Ah, imagine if you can a lad of sixteen or seventeen or eighteen, writing such a letter as that a few years ago! So, while as I have often said, we shall not have as many young men in this country

when the war is over, we will have a finer body of young manhood than any country ever had in all the history of the past. That will be one of the compensations. Then, again, my friends, we are going to have a better country when the war is over. Things were not going altogether well with us before the war. We were becoming a materialistic people. We were devoting ourselves only to the things which you can touch and handle, the things of the senses. The finer, spiritual values were dying out of our lives. The spirit of discipline had fled from the home, from the church, from the school, and from the State, if you please. We no longer looked upon our citizenship under that starry flag as the most precious possession we had. We only felt, in some sort of a way, that the country owed much to us but not that we owed everything to our country. So when this great calamity came upon the world, when this great tragedy of the ages was initiated by the cruelty and tyranny and heartlessness of the Hohenzollern dynasty, it wasn't upon an altogether satisfactory world that the tragedy came. Now, wherever I go, whatever audience I face, I see a new spirit shining out of the faces of the men and the women, aye, even the little children. Humanity is having a rebirth in this crucial time. Our citizenship is going forward and upward by leaps and bounds, so, when the war is over we are going to have a better world than we have had in all the past. The old idea of human brotherhood for which our fathers fought at Concord and Lexington, and for which these old heroes fought on a score of bloody battle fields, that sense of human brotherhood is coming back to the earth. You know, we all know in our hearts that we were becoming selfish, very selfish before this war. We were separating into classes, we were thinking of ourselves, we had forgotten, aye, absolutely forgotten the Master's definition of who our neighbor was. But now, purified in the fires of this war, new and spiritual things are coming back to the world, a new brotherhood will come to our land. We will have a better world when the war is over.

Now, in conclusion, for I have spoken longer than I expected, among the other compensations that this war will bring about, and I feel it this afternoon as I have not felt it before, is going to be a new Chicago. We have, too, in this great city, divided

into groups, according to nationality, or according to religion, or according to some other test. Now, our citizenship of this great city is being separated into only two classes—all who love their flag, who believe that it is the most sacred protection to humanity the world contains; those who believe that America is the best hope of humanity everywhere are arrayed on the one side, and all the others (and thank God they are growing fewer in Chicago every day), are on the other side.

So when the war is over, we shall have a new citizenship, and the only test of a man in those days will be: Did he do all that he could while the war was on to save and protect our land? That will be the only test. We will have a solidarity of citizenship for all good things that we didn't have before.

I received a letter just as I left Springfield, yesterday morning, from a corporal who is with our soldiers in France, Corporal Paul Salzman, of Bloomington. He writes me as follows: "You can tell our people at home that we are constantly thinking of them; that we will do all that is in our power to make the fame of Illinois still greater." That is the spirit of our boys on the other side. I do not know this young man. All I know of him is what is contained in this letter, and although he is only a corporal, I want to answer that letter when I return home.

I have delivered Paul Salzman's message to you, my friends, and I am going to ask you what your message through me to Paul Salzman and his comrades on the battle front shall be. May I tell him (and I feel sure in my heart that you will authorize me to do so), that the people of Illinois are proud beyond expression of the heroic services of our soldiers on the battle fields? May I also tell him, as he asks me to tell you, that we are thinking constantly of them? I am sure I may. I want to add that our dearest concern in these fateful times is not only that we shall constantly think of them, but how we shall constantly do for them that their comfort may be increased. I want to add that we are thinking and thinking constantly, to use his word, of what we can do, my friends of Illinois, to make this State of such splendid past, even a better State. May I tell him that that is your message to me to our soldier boys in the battle line, wherever those lines are laid?

Our past century has indeed been a glorious one. It is as full of inspiration as any century of any nation, or of any State. More and more often pilgrimages are being made to Lincoln's tomb. When men have despaired of the future, they have there repaired to refresh their courage and to strengthen their arms. Only a year ago, I visited that sacred spot with Marshal Joffre, the hero of the Marne. As I beheld him lay a wreath above Lincoln's dust, and saw his tear-dimmed eyes, I knew that old hero had strengthened his determination that "They shall not pass."

So, splendid as is the first century of our history, great as has been its contribution to all the progress of all the world, let us hope that we, in these, the most crucial years of all our history, shall be worthy of our glorious past.

My friends, I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me today, and I want to tell you that I have gained inspiration by being here. I am surer of the future of our citizenship and our beloved land than I have ever been before, and so I thank you again from the bottom of my heart.

THE CLOSING OBSERVANCE OF THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL, DECEMBER 3, 1918

THE COMPLETE PROGRAM OF THE FINAL OBSERVANCE OF THE CENTENNIAL WAS AS FOLLOWS:

- Meeting Called to Order by.....Dr. O. L. Schmidt
Chairman Illinois Centennial Commission and
President Illinois State Historical Society
- Invocation.....Rev. T. N. Ewing
- Star Spangled Banner.....Private Arthur Kraft
- Presentation of.....Governor Frank O. Lowden
As Presiding Officer
- "The Office of Lieutenant Governor,".....
.....The Honorable John G. Oglesby
Lieutenant Governor of Illinois
- Songs.....Private Arthur Kraft
- a.* When You Walk.....(Handel)
- b.* Mary of Argyle.....(Nelson)
- c.* Duna(McGill)
- "The Speaker of the House".....
.....The Honorable David E. Shanahan
Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives
- "The Illinois Supreme Court".....
.....The Honorable James H. Cartwright
Justice of the Supreme Court
- Songs.....Private Arthur Kraft
- a.* Lullaby from Jocelyn.....(Godard)
Violin Obligato
- b.* Invictus(Huhn)
- "The Centennial Address.....President John H. Finley
University of the State of New York
- America.....The Audience
Led by Private Arthur Kraft
- Reception.....First Floor of the Capitol Building
- The last official observance of the Centennial of the State of Illinois was held in the House of Representatives in the Capitol Building, December 3, 1918. The Illinois State Historical Society

united with Centennial Commission in the observance. This was the One Hundredth Anniversary of the formal admission by the Congress of the United States of Illinois as a State of the Union.

Previous to the meeting a dinner was given at the Sangamo Club by the Centennial Commission in honor of Governor Lowden, President Finley and other guests.

The room was handsomely decorated with the National colors and the flags of the allied nations. The spirit of the meeting was one of exultation and thanksgiving that the Centennial of Illinois had witnessed the close of the frightful war of oppression which had engaged and horrified the world for the past four years. A feeling of profound joy that the State begins its second century with new and brighter hopes for a hundred years of peace, progress and fraternity.

Dr. O. L. Schmidt, Chairman of the Centennial Commission called the meeting to order and introduced Governor Frank O. Lowden, presiding officer of the meeting, who introduced the speakers. The Rev. Thomas N. Ewing offered the Invocation.

Lieutenant Governor John G. Oglesby, delivered an address on the office of Lieutenant Governor of the State of Illinois, giving an account of the laws governing the office and of the men who have held that high position during Illinois first century of Statehood.

The Honorable David E. Shanahan, Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives presented an address on the "Speaker of the House." Mr. Shanahan gave a history of this important office describing the qualifications necessary for it, its duties and powers, as well as a most interesting account of many of the brilliant men of Illinois who have occupied the position since the organization of the First General Assembly of the State, October 5, 1818.

The Illinois Supreme Court was reviewed in an able address by Justice James H. Cartwright of the Illinois Supreme Court.

The Centennial address was given by President John H. Finley of the University of the State of New York. Dr. Finley said he had been asked to talk about Illinois but he would speak of America—the new America that was made possible by the hundred years of achievements just closed in whose history Illinois has played so noble a part. Dr. Finley's address was a notable one,

a fitting climax to the series of patriotic and scholarly addresses which have characterized the Centennial observance.

Dr. Schmidt, in opening the exercises, said in part:

Members of the Historical Society and Honored Guests: The Illinois Centennial Commission and the Illinois Historical Society welcome you to these exercises commemorative of the admission of Illinois as a State of the Federal Union, ending thus the series of Centennial exercises inaugurated a year ago in this hall.

Under the pall of the most frightful of wars, and in terror and uncertainty as to the fate of the nation and the world, the Centennial exercises could not be planned in the same joyful and festive spirit as should have been the celebration of a birthday in honor of a beloved and provident mother. This is, however, the opportune occasion to join together in gratitude for the past, and duty to the present, as presented by the National situation. The lesson lies in the heroism and the devotion to high principles exemplified in Illinois' history. Notwithstanding the years of ease and prosperity of this nation, and notwithstanding the shortcomings in which it found itself at the outbreak of the war, the heroism, and the sacrifice of our forefathers was multiplied in kind and in spirit to meet the requirements imposed upon their sons and daughters of today.

That the Centennial observance has been successful is largely due to the hearty cooperation of the State officials. A year ago "Illinois Day," as this day is termed, the exercises for the celebration were headed by our Chief Executive. During the year by kindly and forceful proclamations, and by eloquent speeches throughout the State, the patriotic meaning of the Centennial celebration was pictured by him to thousands of people. He also favored us with a proclamation calling attention to this day and he has consented graciously to conduct our meeting this evening. I have the honor of presenting to you our Centennial Governor,—Governor Lowden, who will act as chairman.

Governor Lowden said in response:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Chairman of the Commission has told you that I have made many speeches at different celebrations during the year. I fear that you may get

the idea that these celebrations have almost exclusively consisted of my oratory, and now I am going to get right down to business, and introduce the first speaker, Lieutenant Governor Oglesby, who will speak upon the "Lieutenant Governors of the State."

THE OFFICE OF LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

JOHN G. OGLESBY

Lieutenant Governor of the State of Illinois

Governor Lowden and Ladies and Gentlemen: This day one hundred years ago Congress ratified the submitted Constitution of Illinois and we were formally admitted and recognized as the twenty-first sovereign State of the Union. This meeting tonight is the culmination of the various celebrations that have been held throughout our commonwealth during this year. The four dates, each of importance, that in 1818 marked the transmutation of Illinois from a territory to a State have been fitly commemorated by our people. With the entering of America into the world's war, there was a difference of opinion whether the Centennial Commission should proceed with the original plans for the centenary, but Governor Lowden finally decided that these plans should be fulfilled, as the lessons and traditions of the past might prove an inspiration for the present generation to meet the critical conditions confronting us.

The results have proven that, as always, the Governor decided with wisdom and foresight, and so the people of our State are indebted to him and his commission for the successful observance of our Centennial.

I have been asked to give a short outline of the provisions of the three Constitutions of our State in their relation to the office of Lieutenant Governor.

The first Constitution, that of 1818, laid down the following qualifications for this office: The Lieutenant Governor shall be at least thirty years of age and shall have been a citizen of the United States thirty years; two years of which next preceding his election he shall have resided within the limits of this State. He shall be chosen at every election for Governor, and in voting for

Governor and Lieutenant Governor the electors shall distinguish who they vote for as Governor and who as Lieutenant Governor. The first election shall commence on the third Thursday of September, 1818, and continue for that and the two succeeding days; and the next election shall be held on the first Monday in August, 1822, and forever after elections shall be once in four years on the first Monday in August. The person having the highest number of votes for this office shall be Lieutenant Governor, but if two or more be equal and highest in votes then one of them shall be chosen by joint ballot of both houses of the General Assembly. He shall hold office after 1822 for the term of four years and until another Lieutenant Governor shall be elected and qualified, but he shall not be eligible for more than four years in any term of eight years.

The Lieutenant Governor by virtue of his office shall be Speaker of the Senate and have the right in Committee of the Whole to debate and vote on all subjects, and in the Senate, when it is equally divided, he is given the casting vote.

In case of impeachment of the Governor, his removal from office, death, refusal to qualify, resignation or absence from the State, the Lieutenant Governor shall exercise all the power and authority appertaining to the office of Governor until the time pointed out by the Constitution for the election of Governor shall arrive, unless the General Assembly shall provide by law for the election of a Governor to fill such vacancy.

To the Constitution of 1818 was added at the very end this clause:

“Any person of thirty years of age who is a citizen of the United States and has resided within the limits of this State two years next preceding the election shall be eligible to the office of Lieutenant Governor. Anything in this Constitution contained to the contrary notwithstanding.”

This unusual provision was added because it was desired by the people to honor by election to this office, Colonel Pierre Menard, that old, impulsive, French emigrant beloved by all. A benevolent, vigorous, honest and patriotic leader of sound judgment and comprehensive mind, who had great influence with the Indians and was most successful in negotiating important treaties with them.

He was born near Montreal in 1766. His business was that of a fur trader, and while he made many trips from Canada to the states, still he did not become a resident of America until 1789, when he began his residence in Vincennes, going to Kaskaskia in 1790, consequently, at the time of his election he had been a citizen of the United States for only 29 years, and had not that qualifying clause been added, he would not have been eligible for the office.

The next Constitution was that of 1848 and changed the original provisions for the election and qualification of Lieutenant Governor in that the election should be held in November instead of August; that no one should be eligible who had not attained the age of 35 years and had not been a resident of the State ten years and a citizen of the United States 14 years. It was also provided in case of the death of the Governor-elect before he qualified, that the Lieutenant Governor should succeed to the vacancy thus created until a new Governor be elected.

The third and present Constitution was adopted in 1870. Its changes in the provisions concerning the office of Lieutenant Governor are that the Lieutenant Governor be a part of the Executive Department of the State; that he be the only executive officer not required to reside at the seat of government during his term of office; that he be president of the Senate and vote only when the Senate is equally divided; that he be thirty years of age and for five years next preceding his election he shall have been a citizen of the United States and of this State and he shall be ineligible for any other office during the period for which he shall have been elected.

So we are brought down to the present day. The people have adopted the resolution for the calling of a Constitutional Convention. The incoming General Assembly will provide for the holding of such convention. It is well that this be done for in the age confronting us there will be many propositions to be solved and the basic foundation of our State should be modern and of a scope to meet all problems that may arise in the new freedom of the world. Knowing the people of Illinois as I do, I have no doubt that the result of this building will be commensurate for every requirement.

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

DAVID E. SHANAHAN

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Governor Lowden, Invited Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: We meet tonight in the closing exercises of the Illinois Centennial Celebration. My friends, in what a different atmosphere we meet tonight, compared with that of a year ago when in the opening exercises of the Illinois Centennial Celebration we met in this room. At that time the world was in the midst of the greatest war of history, and the thought was with us that millions of our young men were in the training camps in this country preparing to go abroad to participate in that great struggle. But tonight we know that this frightful war is ended, and that in a few months a treaty of peace will be signed and in that treaty of peace there will be written in letters of gold that this shall be the last cruel war which shall curse this world forever more.

In the few moments allotted to me—I have ten minutes I understand—I am to talk of the Speakers of one hundred years, so I must be brief.

The State Government of Illinois was organized on Monday, October 5, 1818. On that day the first session of the General Assembly met in Kaskaskia. There were twenty-eight members of the House and fourteen Senators. Seven members of the House and five Senators had been members of the Constitutional Convention of 1818, John Messinger being one of the number. On the opening day of the session Risdon Moore was elected speaker *pro tempore*. On the next day, October 6, 1818, the House met and elected as its speaker John Messinger of St. Clair County. Messinger was a New Englander, which was exceptional, for a citizen of the country at that time, as the majority of the Southern Illinois pioneers were of Virginia or North Carolina ancestry, though the English settlement of Birkbeck and Flower at Albion exercised an influence of considerable magnitude, especially a few years later in the attempt of 1823-24 to change the Constitution of Illinois in order to permit slavery within its borders. The English colonists were strongly anti-slavery in their sentiments.

Messinger was born at West Stockbridge, Mass., in 1771. He went to Vermont, then to Kentucky, reaching the New Design settlement in Illinois in 1802 when the Territory was a part of Indiana Territory. Later he became a miller in St. Clair County, and he taught one of the earliest schools in that county. He became a surveyor and map maker. He made many of the early county and State maps, copies of which are still in existence. He was the author of a book entitled, "A Manual or Hand Book Intended for Convenience in Practical Surveying."

Mr. Messinger was one of the surveyors who set the northern boundary of the State, thus helping in the good work of the delegate in Congress, Nathaniel Pope, in saving for Illinois its fourteen northern counties including the site of Chicago. This territory was given to Wisconsin in the original State boundary line. In a new country, surveying and making roads was a very important profession. We all remember that George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were both in their youthful days surveyors.

In 1808 Mr. Messinger was a member of the Indiana Territorial Legislature and took part in the legislation which separated Illinois from Indiana and gave it an independent Territorial government. Mr. Messinger was, of course, speaker of the second session of the First General Assembly which convened in Kaskaskia, January 18, 1819, and adjourned March 31, 1819.

The speaker of the Second General Assembly of Illinois was John McLean, who was a most distinguished citizen of the State. In his honor is named McLean County, the largest county in area in the State.

John McLean was born in North Carolina, in 1791. The family removed to Kentucky and young McLean came to Shawneetown, Illinois, in 1815. He was a brilliant man, an eloquent and forceful orator. He was elected the first representative in Congress from the new State of Illinois, but was defeated for re-election by Daniel P. Cook. In 1824, he was elected United States Senator to succeed Ninian Edwards, resigned. He was re-elected in 1828 by a unanimous vote, but died on October 4, 1830.

Forty men have been elected Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives during the past 100 years; three of these have

afterwards served the people as Governor of the State, Ewing, Reynolds and Cullom, Mr. Ewing served only fifteen days as Governor of the State. Six have afterwards been elected Senators in the Congress of the United States, John McLean, W. L. D. Ewing, Sidney Breese, James Semple, William A. Richardson, Shelby M. Cullom, and Lawrence Y. Sherman.

Several have won fame in the lower House of Congress, among the most notable being John Reynolds, Thomas J. Turner, William R. Morrison and Shelby M. Cullom. Allen C. Fuller was Adjutant General of the State November 1861-1865. He was also twice presidential elector, 1860 and 1876. He later served several terms in the State Senate. It would take too long to tell the important legislation in which Speakers of the House have exercised influence or the other offices which they have held.

The list of names is an honorable one. Three men have served three terms as Speaker of the House, John McLean, W. L. D. Ewing, and Edward D. Shurtleff. Mr. McLean, after his first election as Speaker of the House, served in Congress and later on was re-elected to the Legislature and again became Speaker and served two terms in succession. As has been stated Mr. McLean died in 1830 while serving as a member of the United States Senate. Mr. Ewing was elected Speaker in 1830, and eight years afterwards was again elected Speaker and served twice in succession.

Mr. Shurtleff is the only man who was elected Speaker and served three times in succession. Semple, Cullom, Corwin, Smith, Haines, Crafts, Sherman and Shanahan served two terms each. In the Thirty-sixth General Assembly, which convened in January, 1889, three men served as Speaker during the session. First, Mr. A. C. Matthews, who was later appointed Comptroller of the Currency, resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. James H. Miller, who died during the session and was succeeded by Judge W. G. Cochran of Moultrie County. Mr. Samuel Buckmaster served as Speaker in the famous session of 1863 when the Legislature was prorogued by the famous War Governor Richard Yates. Buckmaster was the loyal supporter of the Governor during that stormy war period.

E. M. Haines was Speaker of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly in 1885, during the famous deadlock over the election of United States Senator, when General John A. Logan was re-elected after a contest lasting over five months.

Clayton E. Crafts was Speaker of the Thirty-seventh General Assembly in 1891, during another noted senatorial contest, which lasted over three months, in which General John M. Palmer was elected United States Senator.

Under the Constitution of 1870 there are fifty-one senatorial districts in Illinois, which biennially elect three members of the House of Representatives from each district, so that the body is composed of one hundred and fifty-three members. The House convenes on the first Wednesday after the first Monday in January and proceeds to organize. The session is called to order by the Secretary of State and after the roll call of the members is had, a temporary organization is made and after the credentials of the members have been passed upon, a permanent organization is made by the election of a Speaker and other officers. The rules of the House provide what the powers of the Speaker shall be and they are very broad. I am not permitted at this time to take up the various duties of the Speaker, or what these Speakers have done. Enough to say that during the one hundred years of its history, Illinois has reason to be proud of the men who have served as Speakers of its House of Representatives.

THE ILLINOIS SUPREME COURT

JUDGE JAMES H. CARTWRIGHT

Justice of the Supreme Court

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Centennial Commission, Ladies and Gentlemen: Every government whether centralized in a monarch or divided into different departments, exercises three separate and distinct functions—the making of the law; the application of the law to conditions, and the execution of it. Neither is efficient without the other. The law itself is absolutely inert. The printed page protects no right, punishes no crime, accomplishes no results. The judicial department, construing and applying the law

is helpless without the executive behind it to enforce its decrees. The perfection of a government is one that binds all different departments with each other as a whole, neither one being permitted to exercise the function of another.

Our forefathers did not contend for any particular form of government. They were in the Revolutionary War fighting against a monarch and that War was in progress more than a year before the Declaration of Independence, when they severed their connection with the mother country. At that time they declared in that instrument that prudence dictated that a government long established should not be changed for light or transient reasons. They were fighting against injustice, against wrongs committed by a government over which they had no control; and when they came to frame a Constitution at the close of the confederacy, they declared the first purpose which was in their minds which was to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defence, to secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of liberty.

The states followed the same declaration. Our Constitution of 1818, declared its purpose to be to establish justice, to secure domestic tranquility, and followed the same language as the Constitution of the United States. They divided the functions of the government into three departments by which the Legislature should make the laws; the courts should construe and administer them, and the executive should enforce and carry out the decrees of the court and see that laws were faithfully executed. All officers were required to take an oath to support the Constitution of the State and to perform the duties of their office to the best of their ability, and that has been the oath taken by every judge and by every member of the Legislature and executive officer since that time.

There must, of course, be some authority to say when the provisions of the Constitution have been transgressed and what is the meaning of the different laws. The people are the sovereign and they have enacted only one original piece of legislation, and that is the Constitution. They declared what should be done and what should not be done, and defined the powers of the different depart-

ments. They committed to the Supreme Court the decision of questions relating to the Constitution.

In a representative form of government it is especially necessary, that there should be such an authority, because a wise monarch will take into account all the wishes and needs and views of the minority; but in a representative form of government it is not expected that a majority will regard the views or the wishes or the interests of the minority; and so when the Constitution was framed, it was provided that there were certain things which a majority should not do to the individual or to the minority, and necessarily there must be some authority to say when that limit has been transgressed.

We have had a great history as a State. Security has been provided for person and property, and the declaration of the Constitution that "all men are by nature free and independent and have certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and to secure these things governments are instituted.

It is only where the laws are administered for the security of all that a nation can fulfill its highest destiny. The whole history of the world from the beginning, to the bloody program now being enacted in other lands during the present war, shows the same condition of anarchy as in the days of Israel when every man did according to his own will because there was no judge in the land. They were the prey of their enemies. The weak were assaulted, destroyed, scattered, and divided. When the successful Jewish system was established, there was Moses, who, in the wilderness following the advice of Jethro, his father-in-law, a priest of Midian, when he came with his wife and his sons to visit him there, established judges over the people.

Samuel was the first circuit judge, when he went from year to year in a circuit to Bethel and Gilgal and Mizpah and returned to Ramah. It was not because of the great military genius of any of those judges who ruled over Israel that they overcame their enemies, but because they established justice and right and law, that the Jewish nation was then indestructable and unconquerable.

A government by which law and justice are administered, and rights are maintained and whose people are devoted to the principles declared by our forefathers will endure in some form which secures those objects. The fields and lands of such a nation may be ravished, its cities and villages pillaged and burned; its citizens murdered and property destroyed, but the principles of liberty then instilled and planted will live forever, and they will come together again in some new form adapted to the conditions in life to secure the blessings of justice and liberty.

Since 1848 the Judges of the Supreme Court have been elected by the people, and I think it has been demonstrated that no safer plan can be adopted than for the election of judges by a free and intelligent and independent people. Whether the work has been done with credit and ability is not for any of the judges of the court to say; that it has been done with integrity and fidelity and honesty no one has ever questioned.

CENTENNIAL ADDRESS

JOHN H. FINLEY

President of the University of New York

Governor Lowden, Men and Women of Illinois: It is very gratifying to know that I am still remembered as a son of Illinois. Some years ago, shortly after I left Illinois to go to New York, I read an editorial in a Chicago paper—I still took the Chicago paper—speaking of an address which I had made as a young man out here in Bloomington—I think it was called an oration in those days—and referring to my apparent familiarity with the Old Testament, which has been referred to by Judge Cartwright here tonight so beautifully—and then it went on to say that this young man would probably have amounted to something in the world except for his untimely death—evidently it is known to very few in Illinois that I am still in existence.

It is very gratifying also to hear an introduction by one who has not gotten his information solely from Who's Who, and certainly it is a great distinction to be introduced by my friend,

Frank Lowden. I do not wish Illinois any ill, but I hope some day—it is pretty lonesome on the other side—I hope some day he will take the Lincoln Highway over the mountains to the only place there that is more exalted than the Governorship of Illinois. It seems, Governor, that they would like to have you go over.

I have great difficulty down East in making them distinguish between some of these western states. They sometimes put me from Indiana, or Iowa or out in Wisconsin, which, of course, makes me feel badly. But sometimes they locate my state and they refer to me—usually by that other appropriate term they call me—you know—they call me a “Sucker,” and my response is, “Do you know why we are called suckers” out in Illinois? It is because we believe all that the people of this side of the mountains say about their own states.

I have already made my address here, and it was an eloquent address. It was made by my dearest friend, one who was my mentor—one whose office I used to sweep out, and I was hardly worthy to do that—the one who taught me to make my first public speech. I shall have to admit that I have been a very poor pupil, after you have heard him speak—my friend Edgar A. Bancroft. I should not have come here tonight if it had not been that I had promised and that really I wanted some excuse for coming back to Illinois.

I was plowing corn one day, one hot day in June, when I heard a singing, or a sound rather, in the sky. I knew it was not the celestial choir—I knew it was a swarm of bees flying across my field toward the woods in the distance. I did what every Illinois boy would do under the circumstances—I started after those bees, picking up clods of earth and dust and shouting and throwing the dust and the clods towards the bees, with the result that I brought them down at the edge of the field on a branch of a tree; and that night I brought out the hives and took the bees home and they made honey for us the rest of the year. That is what I shall try to do tonight in the few minutes I am allotted—forty-five, I believe—I am just going to throw up a few words to try to bring down the ideas that have been floating in my sky since I was asked to come out here.

I have been asked to speak about the Illinois of the future, but I shall speak rather of America—of the America that could not be the America she is except for what happened a hundred years ago. It is upon that tree that I would gather my little swarm of bees in your presence.

I once heard a lecturer down in New York trying to amuse an audience by telling an experience he had had out here somewhere. He said he was lecturing on the Mediterranean Ocean and in order to get his audience interested, he asked what body of water was in the middle of the earth, and one boy put up his hand and the lecturer asked him what it was, and he said, the Sangamon River. And the lecturer to make his story still more amusing pronounced it the San-gam-'on River. I went to the lecturer afterwards—he did not know very much about this country—and I said to him, “the boy spoke truer than you thought when he said the Sangamon River is the water in the middle of the earth, because Abraham Lincoln lived here and his dust lies on its shores.

I went out to see that place today—his tomb—and I thought, as I was telling you—I thought of an experience of mine—I kept at the farther end of the great hall in my office when I lived in New York City, a splendid head of Lincoln. One Sunday morning when I should not have been at my office, I was alone with my boy—he opened the door and looked out, and he said, “Is no one here?” I said “No.” He said, “No one except you and me and Lincoln.” To him Lincoln was a reality. And so I can somehow feel that there is no one there except you and me and Lincoln. This is the middle of the earth.

I have just come, within the month, from the ocean that was in the middle of the earth, from traveling around its coasts. I was first of all in Italy, and then I went to Corfu, that beautiful island upon whose shores Ulysses was thrown at the end of his wandering. A beautiful island it is. The ex-Kaiser has a palace on top of the hill. I saw that palace. I was visiting the convalescent camps down at the foot of the hill. My Ford grew so democratic that it refused to climb the hill. It is said that the ex-Kaiser intends to go to that palace. I hope not.

He should never be permitted to go there—it is too beautiful a place. I went over the hills of Albania and saw what was left of Servia, and then I went on by Macedon, the place where Alexander the Great was born. I passed through the place where St. Paul had preached to the Thessalonians and had written some of his epistles; and then on down through the Mediterranean Sea, beholding in the distance the island on which John had written his Book of Revelation, and then on to Egypt, where I found people living much as they must have lived two thousand years ago; and then I went on to the Holy Land, where I have been for the last four months before my return, as head of the Red Cross mission to the Holy Land. I went by railroad first and made the trip over night. You remember that the children of Israel spent forty years in making that journey from Egypt into the land of Canaan. Later I made the trip by aeroplane in two and one-half hours, but I went first by rail—over rails that had been furnished by America—and alongside I saw a water pipe running east from the Nile up into Palestine, and the water pipe had been furnished, I was told, by firms within this valley. It is said in an Arabic proverb that not until the water of the Nile runs into Palestine will the Turk be driven from Jerusalem. The water now runs from the Nile into Palestine and the Turk has been driven from Jerusalem. I am sorry we had no part in driving him out. I felt that rebuke—I know Judge Cartwright will remember this, if no body else in the House does (except perhaps the ministers), that Deborah gave to one of the tribes (Reuben) for not coming to the help of Israel when they were fighting against their enemy, although a splendid answer was made on the western front. We had not part in the actual recovery of the land, but we had a splendid part in ministering to those who had been stricken by the war. I am not going to speak of that, but simply of this little land, this little land which I traveled over from one end to the other, so narrow a land it is that I walked from one side to the other of it—it is just about the distance from here to Peoria, the way I walked. I walked from Joppa to Jerusalem and then down to Jericho, only sixty-three miles, and then from Beersheba to the northern end—less than two hundred miles, or not more than from

here to Chicago, and I am proud to say to you my brothers and sisters of Illinois, I had the greatest privilege of my life in being permitted to go—the first American citizen to go into Nazareth after it had been taken from the Turks, except perhaps the military attache; and also I had the great honor to go, the only person aside from the staff of General Allenby, into Dasmascus the day he made his entry. I speak of that that you may share this pleasure and honor with me. That little land was the centre of the earth—the middle of the earth. The land from which we got our Ten Commandments. I could see Mount Sinai as I journeyed by aeroplane across the Red Sea without getting my feet wet. I could see Mount Sinai off in the distance. This little land from which we get our Beatitudes, the Ten Commandments and the two greater commandments that are the basis of our civilization. That land seems a long way off now. It was on my horizon as a boy when I read of it at my mother's knee here in Illinois—just over the horizon, but I saw it out yonder and it seemed a long way from these prairies of Illinois.

I was walking one night and I fell in with some British Tommies. I was very much in need of water. I was some distance from the wells of Sychar, and I asked where I could get water and they pointed to the camp. I went to the camp and it was the camp of the First Irish Regiment down in one of the valleys of Palestine. I asked for water and I was taken to the place where the water was kept by a fine Irish strip of a lad. He brought the water out of great skins which were carried in by the camels during the day. The water was not very cold—there was no ice in Palestine. I said to the boy, "What part of Ireland did you come from?" He replied, "Tipperary." And I said to him, "My lad you are indeed a long way from home." And Mount Nebo and those barren places that seemed a long, long way from this rich valley. I wish you could see the horizon of that land from which I have just come—that land with its barrenness and its misery, but that land with all its great associations—you would the better appreciate—you would know as I know that this is the middle of the earth, for this is the place where that spirit of human brotherhood which was taught there in that land, has its highest expres-

sion, its noblest expression in the democracy which was exemplified in our Lincoln.

Here, in America! I have been thinking when the name America was first put upon the printed page in southeastern France—that part of France where many of our boys were in the first days of the war and near which some of them are even now. In that little village to which I have often made a pilgrimage. It was there that this name was written in a book called Ptolemy's *Cosmography*, a new edition to it. I was back there in the war and inquired for a bookseller who had given me, when I was there before, a reproduction of this book—the original is over in Strassburg. When I came back the second time they said he had gone. He was crossing the bridge between the two parts of the village and had both legs shot off. When he came to die he said, "Alas (I have been thinking of this many times in the last few days), I shall not be able to carry flowers to Strassburg." The flowers have been carried back to Strassburg, but by American boys. It was there that the name of America was first written upon the printed page. It was an edition of Ptolemy's *Cosmography*, but at the moment it was being printed, in Berlin there was a man working out a new theory (you see I have become a school teacher again)—this theory called the Copernican Theory—a theory in which the sun does not revolve around the earth, but the earth revolves around the sun. America was, in a sense, under the Ptolemy theory or system; she had her national existence under the Copernican theory or system, a system under which the individual becomes infinitesimally small, but in which the earth becomes a part of the great universe. And so we have begun to appreciate our relationship, I think, to the rest of the world. It was an astronomical or infinite distance, and it was under that astronomical distance that our fathers came to this place. I can hear my own father in a little room up here in the prairie, singing a song which I have not heard on the other side of the mountains, a song which some of you, perhaps, still remember:

"I'm a pilgrim and I'm a stranger,
I can tarry, I can tarry but a night.
Do not detain me, for I am going,
To where the fountains are ever flowing.
I'm a pilgrim and I'm a stranger,
I can tarry, I can tarry but a night."

It was, as I said, a cosmography (although that seems rather a large word), a cosmography of infinite distance. We have lived always out here at any rate, under the Copernican system.

I have written here (indicating the manuscript which he held in his hand), more or less of what I intended to say tonight, but I think a portion of it at any rate will have to be left to the records, but I can outline to you what I intended to say about this America. America that has not by chance taken the stars and put them in the field of our flag. They are cosmic symbols gathered from the immeasurable universe. This America of cosmic horizon, of starry symbols and of universal sympathy, is clearly not a geographic comet, though one cannot disassociate the soul of America from its body. It is only through the identification of this spirit with a love of the physical body that it can become an international and a cosmic influence. Without its incarnation between lines of latitude and longitude, it would be a nebulous internationalism that we should have, a cosmic life love that, eschewing nationalism, would come in the end to nothing.

I have written here what I hope we may teach our children—the love of this land. They may come to know its beauty, its grandeur, the miraculous productivity of this land; how the Almighty has prepared its wealth through millions of years; how the wind has kept it swept clean; how the waters drain it; how these same winds bring clouds to nourish it, and how the seasons in their ceaseless round bring seed-time and harvest. Even before our children come to know the history which has given this land its soul, they should come to know and love its wondrous beauty.

I have set forth here some definitions which I hope they may learn; descriptions which are given, not by geographers as we call them, but by poets and by artists, so that the children may come

to love this land as the children of France love their land and the children of Italy love their land.

Here is the description of the Illinois prairie which I came upon—the prairie as some of you knew these prairies: a “sea of grass and flowers, from Mr. Francis Grierson’s description of the “Lincoln Country.” “A breeze springs up from the shores of old Kentucky or from across the Mississippi and the plains of Kansas, gathering force as the hours steal on, gradually changing the aspect of nature by an undulating motion of the grass, until the breeze becomes a gale, and behold the prairie a rolling sea. The pennant-like blades dip before the storm in low rushing billows as of myriads of green birds skimming the surface. When clouds fleck the far horizon with dim shifting vapors, shadows as of long gray winds, swoop down over the prairie, while here and there immense veils rise and fall and sweep on towards the sky line.”

That is not in our geographies, but it is a grand description of beautiful Illinois in those days as we remember the prairie grass.

It is an America that is more than the land we live on, the objective land. Dear as it is in its association and fair as it is in its inherent beauty, America has another content than its physical resource. It is more than the land we live on, more than the land we live from, that is, the land from which we get our living, this wonderful land which here in Illinois yields corn for the world, two or three crops of alfalfa out in Colorado, wheat for the world in Minnesota, and only satisfying scenery in New Hampshire—the land which has gold in its veins in California, silver in Colorado, lead in Missouri, coal in West Virginia, oil in Pennsylvania and natural gas in Indiana; the land which, like a magician, has taken the same elements out of the soil and the sky, and makes an ear of corn in Illinois, a bunch of grapes in western New York, a peach in Delaware, a cranberry in New Jersey, and a nitrogenous legume in Massachusetts; a land which, with slight assistance from synthetic chemistry and horticultural grafting, makes figs to grow on thistles and olive oil to flow from cotton seed, the rarest perfume to rise from coal tar and maraschino cherries to ripen where cherry trees have never been seen; the land which, stretching from

the fields of the Lady of the Snows to the tropic seas, is now mobilizing the very elements of its soil and commandeering the nitrogen in its atmosphere to fight for the freedom of the world.

I must not stop to try to tell you what those mysteries are that lie in every field. They are, of course, in other lands but with this difference, that every boy and girl is free to follow these mysteries into the presence of the infinite. That is the heritage of their freedom. Neither poverty nor the social obscurity of parents, nor the predestinations of autocracy bar the way for them.

And here should every child who comes upon this land be instructed not only in the geography of its visible beauty, but in the geography of its marvelous bounty, and be made to know what the freedom of his life in America opens to him in the miracles of the fields, the shop and the studio.

I have seen these miracles with my own eyes in many states, as doubtless you have. Out in the prairies here in Illinois I have seen flowers fashioned in all the complicated beauty of the domestic orchid, until that same soil was made to grow the tasselled corn; in Maryland I can still hear the vendors as they cry their Ann Arundel vegetables beneath the windows; in New Hampshire I saw a sign as if it were written for the whole state, "We make everything that has grit in it;" in Georgia I have seen the little cotton boll in its productivity (and they make more cotton-seed oil (so-called olive oil) in the southern states than all the olive trees in the world produce—I have seen the little cotton boll become a razor back hog, a sheep, a silk worm, and a dirigible balloon, all wrapped up in the most beautiful package that the Almighty ever tied to the twig of a bush; in California where the beneficent gods and the giants of the frosts that creep down from the snow-peaked mountains are ever at battle; in New York, where, with the assistance of fertilizer, hot-house and refrigerator. isotherms are banished, all the zones simulated, all soils synthesized, and even the forces of Heaven converted into a sort of panurgic fertility and power.

There is more poetry in such a physical geography than in many anthologies; more art than is to be found in many museums.

But a poet is needed to teach this geography of America's bounty as well as that of our beauty.

Then there should be chapters that tell of her mission; chapters of which we have two or three here tonight. I must not stop to speak of these. Places where our great men have lived—her holy places. I attended not long ago a dinner at which a great scientist from Servia (and we owe Servia a great debt for what that man has given to us), told a conversation which he had with an old man of his country who had once visited the Holy Land. This old man had told the scientist of the weariness of the way and the agony of joy with which he at last looked down upon the Holy Land. And the scientist said, "I understand what your feeling is, for I, too, have been in a holy place." "Where?" said the old man? He said, "In America." "Well," said the old man, "there are no holy places in America." And then this scientist told him of a place where was born a man who had discovered some of the great universal laws of God and had made their application. It was a holy place, as this is a holy place. And wherever life in its highest heroisms has hallowed a spot, it should become a place in the real America, the conscious possession of the entire people.

But America has more than this beautiful land, more than its miracled products, more than its greatest individual souls, more than all of them together. Above these as an indescribable perfume there arises an abstraction America, for America is a political idea, a moral purpose, a prayer for a better world uttered in the face of the inexorable forces of nature that only seem hostile because we do not understand them, uttered in the presence of the stars that seemed to fight with Deborah and Barak of old, and that literally do fight with America today.

How varied the conception of America is, a few illustrative definitions will suggest. A nation "that can only achieve its aims in carrying a message to mankind of what has been found possible on this continent;" "a spirit that hopes grandly for the race;" "a striving for liberty, justice and truth;" "a land of unlimited opportunity," or, as Emerson defined it simply "opportunity," whose entrance doors open to all comers but whose inner doors are

also kept open so that a man may pass from room to room so long as he has strength to open the doors;" the "free commonwealth that comes nearest to the illustration of the national equality of all men;" "God's crucible;" "a place to keep alive faith in humanity;" "the only nation in the world that has been built consciously and freely on pure ideals and pure thoughts;" the "concrete expression of that dream of freedom to work that slumbers in every man's soul;" a "country with a part to play in the redemption of humanity and the better organization of the world;" a country in which the "ideal passions of patriotism, of liberty, of loyalty to home and nation, of humanitarianism and missionary effort have all burned with a clear flame;" the "spirit of a great people in the search for more abundant life."

And between these extremes of view, lies dimly and perhaps not clearly defined the "America" that lives in the millions who live in the land that we call America.

The definition of America has not been changed, but suddenly the nation has found a necessity for employing a new language in preserving this definition.

The consciousness which has been written in sentences that some have mocked as mere platitudes, empty husks, has asserted itself under a barbaric assault upon this peace-prone and seemingly harmless body of words, in a language which devils can understand but angels must use when hell opens its doors.

America seems outwardly a new national being, but she is only proving her cosmic words, she is rising to planetary and to cosmic deeds. And Illinois, whose admission into this America we celebrate tonight, lying in the heart of what some years ago I called, when speaking in France, "the valley of the new democracy," is the very middle of the new middle land of the earth—the State which embraces the Sangamon River and which has given the highest expression of that democracy for which we are trying to make the whole world a safe place.

Some years ago, a young man born on these prairies was lying near imagined death in a New York hospital. He asked the nurse what month it was, and she said it was May. He said, "I cannot die now." Then he heard the meadow lark singing out over the

prairie fields filled with flowers, and he heard the frogs croaking in what we used to call the sloughs, and then he heard the crane honking over head, and he said, "I cannot die now, it is plowing time." And then in the struggle between the desire to justify the name his mother had given him in his contest with men out in the world, and with the desire to go back again to his land, the fields that he loved, he prayed that he might be taken back and laid beneath the tree that was in the middle of the field he had plowed; that he might lie there throughout the winter and then in the spring climb with the sap up into the branches of the tree and look out over those fields with their infinite distance that I have been seeing today—and the field in which that tree stood was the field from which I heard the bees one day, and the tree was a cotton-wood tree. I suppose it is gone long since. But for me that tree still stands in the middle of the earth, in the state which with all the enlarging new world horizons is still the middle of the new earth, for the old heavens and the old earth have passed away and there is no more sea separating the ends of the earth. And as America enters upon this new era of her life, and Illinois enters upon the second century of her's—God bless them both.

Documents



REPORT OF DIRECTOR HUGH S. MAGILL, JR., TO THE
ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION,
DECEMBER 31, 1918

I have been asked to confine my report chiefly to the state-wide celebration. The theme is so large that it will be impossible for me, in the limited space at my disposal, to give more than a mere epitome of what was undertaken and what has been accomplished. When we consider that more than a thousand celebrations were held, at least a third of which are deserving of special note, not to mention the intensive study of Illinois history that was carried on in all the schools of the State, both public and private, and in hundreds of clubs and societies, we realize that a complete, comprehensive story of the Centennial observances held throughout the State would fill volumes. I am obliged, therefore, to confine my report to an account of the plans and preparations that were made, and the principal features of the celebrations held, omitting the details of the different events.

Senator Kent E. Keller, a member of the first Commission, was chairman of the first Committee on State-wide Celebration. He did much to acquaint the people of the State with the fact that the Centennial year was approaching, and that it should be fittingly observed. In this he was ably assisted by Mr. S. Leigh Call, who had charge of the newspaper publicity for the Commission at that time. When the Supreme Court decided in the Fergus suits, that a legislative committee could not perform functions such as had been delegated to the Centennial Commission by a joint resolution of the General Assembly, the Commission, of which Mr. Keller was a member, was dissolved.

In January, 1916, at the special session of the Forty-ninth General Assembly, an act was passed creating a Centennial Commission of fifteen members, to be appointed by the Governor. Among those appointed on this Commission, was Rev. Royal W.

Ennis, who was made chairman of the Committee on State-wide Celebration, and has remained at the head of this important committee to the present time. Mr. Ennis devoted a large amount of time and thought to the work of the Commission, particularly before the office of director was created, and with splendid results. He deserves special credit for what was accomplished.

When the Commission took up the work of organizing the counties of the State to provide for county celebrations, it was decided to appoint an *ex officio* committee in each county, consisting of the County Judge, County Superintendent of Schools, County Clerk, State's Attorney, and Chairman of the County Board. These *ex officio* committees were urged to form a permanent Centennial organization in each county, either by assuming the duties themselves, or by calling a mass meeting to form a county organization. Each county was urged to prepare for a County Centennial Celebration. It was suggested that such celebration be held in connection with the county fair, Old Soldiers' or Old Settlers' annual reunion, or on some special date any time during the Centennial year, which might be most convenient. Many of these committees took action toward the carrying out the plans suggested by the Centennial Commission.

Governor Lowden recommended that the Commission appoint a director, who should devote his entire time to promoting the Centennial celebrations throughout the State. In July, 1917, the Commission selected the present Director, who began his duties as such on August first. Since then he has devoted his entire time to the work of the Commission, having resigned his position as superintendent of the Springfield City Schools, to take up this work.

The Commission provided an office for the Director in the State House, with the necessary assistants. Plans were at once made for arousing interest throughout the State in the coming celebration. A mailing list was started, which has been developed since until it now numbers about fifteen thousand. Thousands of letters were sent out to public officials, superintendents and principals of schools, and to officers of organizations, churches, clubs and societies, urging an intensive study of Illinois history,

particularly in the schools. It was urged that preparations should be made for a general observance of the Centennial during the year, 1918.

Since assuming his duties on August 1, 1917, the Director has delivered more than two hundred addresses throughout Illinois, including nearly every county of the State. These have been given before chautauquas, teachers' institutes, conventions, clubs and societies. In all these addresses it was urged that the winning of the war should receive first consideration, but that a proper observance of the Centennial would greatly assist the State in doing its part. In an address before the Illinois State Bankers' Association, on September 19, 1917, the Director stated:

"The celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the Union must not in any way divert our minds from the great undertaking in which all America is engaged. A study of the wonderful history of our State, and a better appreciation of the great sacrifice and service rendered by those who have made glorious the history of Illinois, should give us inspiration and courage, and help us the better to perform our full duty. The Centennial celebration will be no mere play festival, but should call forth an expression of the finest patriotic sentiment of our people. There should be aroused in the mind of every citizen of Illinois a solemn pride in what our State has accomplished, and a strong resolution to measure up to the high standards which our fathers have set for us."

In the first Centennial Bulletin published in October, 1917, a general outline was given for state-wide celebrations. We quote the following:

"The Commission offers the following suggestions for a state-wide celebration:

"The Study of Illinois History.—Particular attention should be given to the lives of those whose service and sacrifice have contributed so largely to the blessings enjoyed by us today. This study should be emphasized in the schools, and also in the programs of civic and patriotic organizations throughout the State. There is a wealth of interesting and important local history in every county which should be investigated and studied.

"Historical Pageants.—It is possible for every county to produce an historical pageant and in this most entertaining and impressive manner portray the particular features of Illinois history. Important local characters and events should receive attention. The Centennial Commission will furnish assistance in the writing of these pageants and will also furnish competent advice with respect to their production.

"County Fairs and Expositions.—The particular feature of these should be a comparison of the latest productions with the earlier productions of a like kind, showing the actual progress made. The development in farm machinery from the primitive implements to the most modern would make a most interesting exhibit in a rural community. The progress made in transportation, manufacture, and the various lines of science and invention offer suggestions for an exhibition of the progress of a hundred years. The Illinois Centennial affords a splendid incentive for such exhibitions.

"Chautauquas, Conventions, Reunions and Homecomings.—During the Centennial year the different organizations and societies of the State should hold Centennial meetings. Each of these organizations might well take an inventory of its progress, and consider its relation to the development and welfare of Illinois. Civic and patriotic societies may hold special meetings. Reunions of old soldiers and old settlers, with reminiscences of the past, should be features of county celebrations. This generation should be impressed with its debt of obligation to those who have made possible the privileges which we enjoy.

"Memorials and Historical Markings.—The character of a people may be judged by its appreciation of the great personalities and important events that have moulded its history. The Centennial furnishes an incentive for the erection of permanent memorials, and the marking of historic places. In each community something permanent should be left as a Centennial memorial."

At about this time Mr. Horace H. Bancroft, of Jacksonville, was elected by the Commission as assistant director. Mr. Bancroft undertook the particular work of forming county Centennial or-

ganizations. He was very successful, and his work was of the highest character. Through his personal efforts, active Centennial organizations were formed in more than half the counties of the State, and preliminary preparations were made for appropriate observances during the Centennial year.

On December 3, 1917, a meeting of delegates from local Centennial associations and other interested persons was held in the Senate Chamber, at which, in addition to the formal program, short addresses were delivered by the Director and the Assistant Director, the Manager of Publicity, and by Mr. Wallace Rice, pageant writer, all having to do with the state-wide celebrations. Representatives from different parts of the State took part in these discussions, and an intense interest was shown in the plans for the Centennial year which opened on that day.

A particular feature of the state-wide celebration which is deserving of special note, was the part taken by State organizations. From the very beginning the Grand Army of the Republic and the Woman's Relief Corps, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and other patriotic organizations, manifested a lively interest in the coming celebration. On June 6, 1917, at the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, the following resolution was adopted:

"We, your committee, recommend that each county shall hold a Centennial celebration, that a committee composed of Grand Army men be appointed to arrange for the military side of the meeting, and that they may use all the auxiliary organizations of the Grand Army as aids to consummate their work, and that each county committee see that a proper program is rendered to fitly represent the military work of the great State of Illinois."

The Woman's Relief Corps adopted a resolution, which is, in part, as follows:

"This is an opportunity which the Woman's Relief Corps auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic should embrace, to perpetuate the part taken by our organizations and our makers of history. During the years 1860-1865, Illinois was not only a leader in the history making of the Middle West, but of the nation as well.

"It is desired that every corps shall hold a Centennial celebration; that they shall invite the Grand Army of the Republic to unite with them in this observance.

"We believe that the military history of the State should be particularly dwelt upon and that all celebrations should be of a patriotic nature.

"It is also desirable that the Woman's Relief Corps* should make a permanent record of their observance, through the dedication of a monument, boulder, building, fountain or a highway, and these should be marked with a small bronze tablet setting forth the fact that it has been placed there by the Woman's Relief Corps. In counties not having soldiers' monuments, a monument or marker to the Union Soldiers would be appropriate, or a marker to the Loyal Women of the North, would also be fitting."

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, secretary of the commission, and active in D. A. R. work, addressed a letter to Mrs. Frank W. Bahnsen, of Rock Island, then state regent, in which the following suggestion was made:

"It has been suggested that it would be a good plan for the D. A. R. to contribute a bronze tablet with proper inscription as a part of its work for the State Centennial to each county which erects a permanent memorial. For instance, if a monument or building or a fountain should be erected by the county, on this memorial should be placed a bronze tablet, the gift of the D. A. R. This matter has several times been brought to the attention of the Centennial Commission and I have been requested to write to you on this subject.

"I do not want the D. A. R. to forget their obligation to the Lincoln Circuit Marking Association, and I know the great number of calls on every one at this time, but I feel that this would be a prominent part in the marking of the Centennial and it would not mean a very large cost."

The Daughters of the American Revolution deserve particular credit for securing the erection of a great many memorials and markers throughout the State. This organization was active throughout the Centennial year in promoting this work, which was one of the most valuable features of the celebration.

* The Woman's Relief Corps of the State of Illinois placed a Bronze Tablet in Memorial Hall, Capitol Building, February 22, 1918.

Among other State organizations which were very active in promoting appropriate Centennial observances, might be mentioned: the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the State Bankers' Association, the State Bar Association, the State Medical Society, the State Farmers' Institute, the State Sunday School Association, the Hardware Dealers Association, the Retail Clothiers' Association, the Shoe Dealers Association, the State Music Teachers' Association, the Illinois Press Association, and a score of others. The Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations in the various cities of the State lent their influence very heartily to the promotion of appropriate celebrations in their several communities.

The colleges of Illinois early recognized the importance of the Centennial year. The Federation of Illinois Colleges, at a meeting held in Decatur in October, 1917, adopted the following report, submitted by the Committee on Centennial Celebrations:

"1. That each college should secure and display the Centennial banner of the State throughout the year.

"2. That a credit course be offered in Illinois history to the colleges.

"3. That a course of addresses by professors or others be given throughout the year on various important phases of Illinois history.

"4. That the colleges cooperate in every way possible with Centennial committees, both local and State.

"5. That assurance of the willingness of the colleges and the Federation to cooperate be given.

"6. That a College Historical Society be established for furthering the work in Illinois history.

"7. That pageants representing important phases in Illinois history be given.

"8. That special days in the year be given prominence—April 18, October 6 and December 3."

The schools of Illinois, both public and parochial, placed particular emphasis on the study of Illinois history. The Centennial furnished an incentive for this work, and the more than one million school children of Illinois were brought to understand and appreciate the wonderful story of their State to a much greater

extent than could possibly have been accomplished without this special incentive.

The "Six Little Centennial Plays" prepared by Mr. Wallace Rice, pageant writer for the commission, were used in hundreds of the schools of the State, both public and private. High schools and academies of the State used some one of the several Centennial pageants prepared by the Commission, "The Pageant of the Illinois Country," and "The Masque of Illinois," by Mr. Rice, and "The Wonderful Story of Illinois," by Miss Grace Owen. Many others produced pageants of their own preparation, many of which were compiled in part from the Centennial pageants furnished by the Commission.

Complete plans for a state-wide celebration were set forth by the Director in the Centennial Bulletin issued by the Commission in February, 1918. We quote the following:

"Every intelligent, patriotic citizen of Illinois recognizes that the one all-important, all-absorbing subject before us at this time is the winning of this war. To fail means to give up every ideal of liberty and democracy upon which our nation was founded and which our people have cherished throughout our nation's life. To win means to establish these principles forever, and extend their blessings to all the people of every nation throughout the world. So momentous are the issues that to win this cause America has dedicated all her treasure, all her efforts, and the lives of her bravest and best.

"What effect will the observance of the Illinois Centennial have upon the people of Illinois in relation to the winning of this war? If it hinders in the slightest degree, all plans and preparations should be given up at once. If the celebration is justified it must contribute to our ultimate success and triumph. After a very serious consideration of this question, it is the unanimous opinion of those upon whom has been placed by statute the responsibility of holding the celebration that a patriotic observance of our State Centennial will assist in bringing to our people a fuller appreciation of the issues of the war and give us inspiration and courage to meet heroically and generously the heavy demands which are laid upon us. Our War Governor, whose powerful sup-

port of the war is recognized throughout the nation, believes a patriotic Centennial observance will be beneficial and has so declared in his message of October 29, 1917.

"Some of the leading editorial writers of other states have said it is particularly fortunate that Illinois, which gave to the nation Lincoln to lead in that great struggle to preserve free government in America, should observe its Centennial at a time when we are fighting to preserve free government throughout the world. They express the hope that the patriotic observance of this great event will not only inspire the citizens of Illinois to nobler effort, but lend an inspiring influence to the people of the other commonwealths of the nation.

"In promoting the general observance of the Illinois Centennial, it has been the purpose of the Centennial Commission to stimulate an interest in the event, and an appreciation of the opportunity which the occasion affords, and leave the working out of plans and programs very largely to the local organizations and committees. It is hoped there will be originality and variety in the different programs, rather than too great uniformity and sameness. While the most important events of our State's history should be recognized in all celebrations, the local history of each county should be featured, and each program should reflect the thought and plan of the committee having it in charge. The two important considerations are that every program should be based fundamentally on the history of Illinois, and that it shall be decidedly patriotic in character.

"It should be borne in mind that the entire year 1918 is Centennial Year, and that any convenient date during the year will be an appropriate time to commemorate the admission of Illinois into the Union. This is historically correct. Nathaniel Pope, our territorial delegate, presented to Congress on January 16, 1818, a memorial which had been adopted by the Territorial Legislature of Illinois, requesting Congress to take the necessary steps to permit the territory to organize as a State. On April 18, 1818, the Enabling Act, passed by Congress, was signed by the President and became a law. This authorized the territory of Illinois to adopt a Constitution and form a State Government,

which form of government should be submitted back to Congress for approval. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention were elected in July, 1818. The Constitutional Convention assembled in Kaskaskia, the capital of the territory, on the first Monday in August, 1818, and the Constitution was adopted by the convention on the 26th day of August. The elective State officers provided for in the Constitution were elected on September 17-19, 1818. The first General Assembly convened at Kaskaskia on October 5, 1818, and the first Governor was inaugurated on October 6, 1818. The action which had been taken pursuant to the Enabling Act was ratified by Congress on December 3, 1818, and Illinois was formally admitted as the twenty-first State in the American Union.

"From the above facts it is clear that the admission of Illinois was a process which began in January, 1818, and was concluded in December, 1818, and that, therefore, the entire year 1918 commemorates the admission of Illinois into the Union. The only precaution necessary is that adjacent counties and communities should not hold their celebrations on the same dates, and it might be better not to hold county celebrations at the time of the official celebrations at the State Capital. It is suggested that the people of each county and community visit the celebrations held in the surrounding counties and communities in order that the interest taken may be as widespread as possible.

"The official State celebrations will be held at the State Capital. The Commission would like to have an official county celebration in every county, and in addition thereto local celebrations in every city, village and community, including every school in the State. The various societies and organizations of the State should plan Centennial programs for their annual meetings to be held in 1918.

"The county celebrations will be held under the auspices of the respective County Centennial Committees. These committees are usually made up of representatives from all parts of the county and generally have the official endorsement and support of the county board. They elect their own officers, appoint their own committees, select the time for the celebration and arrange their

own programs. In some counties the celebrations will be held in connection with the annual county fair, an annual chautauqua, an old settlers' or old soldiers' reunion, or the high school commencement exercises. All of these different organizations may unite in a cooperative effort. The historical societies, commercial organizations, women's clubs, and other civic organizations should assist in making the celebration as complete and impressive as possible. One of the most important elements in a successful county celebration will be the cooperation of the public and private schools of the county. The hearty assistance of the county superintendent of schools, the superintendents of the different city and village schools, and the teachers of the county, together with their pupils, will insure a very effective celebration.

"Cities, villages and communities, with the assistance of their local societies, organizations and schools, should have their own Centennial programs. These should not detract from the county celebration, but, on the contrary, should add to the general development of the Centennial spirit. The Commission desires that the Centennial observance shall in some way reach every person of the State, and that no one shall fail to receive something of its inspiring influence.

"The predominant thought running through all celebrations should be the wonderful story of our State. Every celebration should be based upon our State's history, so rich in heroic service, patriotic endeavor and marvelous achievement. Those who would enter into the spirit of our Centennial celebrations must know and appreciate the history of Illinois—the story of the early Indian tribes; the French missionaries and early pioneers; the significance of the Ordinance of 1787; the early territorial history; the admission of Illinois into the Union; the struggle to preserve Illinois as a free State; the period of expansion and of reckless expenditure; the marvelous growth and development of Chicago; the Black Hawk War; the Mexican War; the part Illinois played in the preservation of the Union; the more recent development of the vast resources of the State; and the contribution which Illinois is making today in the mighty struggle for humanity and democracy.

"We can not fittingly celebrate the hundredth anniversary of our statehood without an appreciation of the material development and progress of the past hundred years; but, above all, we must appreciate the great men whom the State has produced and the contributions which they have made not only to our State, but to the nation and to the world. We must in some way come to realize the historic truth of the words of our State song—

"Not without thy wondrous story;
Illinois,
Can be writ the Nation's glory,
Illinois.

"From an intelligent and grateful appreciation of the service of those who have builded our commonwealth and made glorious her history we will come to have a wholesome State pride and enter into the spirit of Illinois. In this spirit let us celebrate our Centennial.

"A particular study should be made of the local history of each county in order that the most important historic events shall receive recognition at this time. Every county in Illinois is rich in local history which is of special interest to its own people, and this should be featured in the respective county celebrations. This will add greatly to the interest in the celebration and will give variety to the different observances held throughout the State.

"The decorations for each celebration should be carefully planned, and a well thought out scheme should be carried out. The decorations committees will have a very important work to perform, and the most artistic persons in the community should be selected to have charge of this important phase of the celebration. There will be, of course, a profusion of American flags and Centennial banners, and it will be particularly appropriate this year to use the flags of our Allies. Indian decorations may be used. Electric lights with round colored shades to imitate beads, arrows, bows, spears, tomahawks, peace pipes, eagle and hawk feathers, made of heavy paper colored bright red, blue and yellow, have been suggested for street decorations. The ingenuity of the

different committees will work out various schemes that will be particularly unique and effective.

"The music, like the decorations, should be put in the hands of the most competent persons who can be secured to serve on the Music Committee. Patriotic songs will be particularly appropriate. In addition to our great national hymns, those songs written by Illinoisans, "The Battle Cry of Freedom," "Just Before the Battle, Mother," and "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching," by George F. Root, and "Marching Through Georgia," by H. C. Work, should be particularly featured. Of course, we will want to sing "Illinois" over and over again, and no doubt there will be many new songs of merit inspired by the observance of our Centennial, which will deserve to have a place on the Centennial programs. It is hoped to have an Illinois Centennial march and a new Illinois Centennial song, and the Commission expects to furnish march music for the processional pageants, children's dances, and the like.

"Nearly every Centennial program should have a Centennial pageant as one of its important features. Mr. Wallace Rice, the official pageant writer for the Centennial Commission, has prepared six plays suitable for school children in the grades, which will be furnished free by the Commission. These should be used generally by the schools of the State. A Masque of Illinois, adapted to high schools, colleges and clubs, with music, singing and dancing, to be simple or elaborate in its presentation according to local needs and desires, will also be furnished free by the Commission. The Centennial Commission has in preparation a State pageant with prologue and five twenty-minute dramatic scenes, with processions available for separate use. A sixth scene and procession, written locally to represent some historic event of local interest, may be added.

"Processionals and parades may be used to particular advantage. One can hardly think of a more impressive sight than hundreds or perhaps thousands of school children carrying American flags and Centennial banners. A particular feature of every county celebration should be the assembling of all the school children of the county in a well planned processional or parade.

Where local conditions do not readily lend themselves to dramatic representation it will be generally found that processions can be used with very effective results.

"In street parades the members of the Grand Army of the Republic should be given a place of honor. We can not too highly honor the few remaining heroes of our State who answered Lincoln's call and offered their lives that our Union might be preserved and that government of the people might not perish from the earth.

"The public addresses, readings and recitations will, of course, deal with the history of Illinois, and should be decidedly patriotic in character. No celebration should be considered worthy that does not have a patriotic atmosphere and strongly impress the value of our free institutions. The Commission intends issuing a small book of historical addresses and excerpts from the speeches of great Illinoisans, with ballads commemorating our great historical events, suitable for public recitations and readings in or out of doors.

"Wherever possible there should be exhibits of the primitive productions of various kinds. An excellent outline for the schools has been sent out by the educational department of the State Fair Board, which has the endorsement of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. If an earnest effort is made, it will be possible in each community to get together a very interesting exhibit of old implements and relics of the pioneer days. The occasion affords an excellent opportunity for unique and attractive window decorations.

"It is suggested that one feature of each Centennial exhibit shall be a series of ten charts, each representing one decade, showing the progress that has been made in inventions and discoveries during the past hundred years. The last chart should show at least twenty-five of the principal inventions which are the tools and conveniences of our present day civilization. Each preceding chart should show such of these as were used during that particular decade, and so on back to the first, which shows only such as were used during the first ten years of our State's history. In this way there may be graphically portrayed the particular period

of our State's history when the principal inventions and discoveries came into use.

"The Centennial year affords a splendid opportunity for the marking of places where historic events took place. Governor Lowden has called particular attention to this in the following language:

'Many points in Illinois, scenes of momentous happenings, which should have been marked half a century ago and have become fixed landmarks, are now only vague traditions; and so, while it is yet time, let our hundredth year be marked by fixing permanently the events of our first hundred years so far as they may be fixed at this time.'

"Where it is at all possible, some permanent memorials should be erected which shall stand through the years commemorative of the observance of our State Centennial. However excellent the Centennial programs may be, they will in time become forgotten, and it is therefore of vital importance that all over the State permanent memorials shall be erected which shall remain when the memory of our Centennial programs shall have passed.

"We would suggest that the County Centennial Committee in each county have a county service flag made, to be used in connection with the county celebration. If any soldier from the county has died in the service, his should be a gold star. The dedication and display of this flag should stimulate the finest patriotic sentiment. We would also suggest that a roll of honor be prepared containing the names of every soldier from the county, with the rank and branch of service of each, and if possible the photograph of each one. If this roll is properly framed and draped it will give some appropriate recognition to those whose service we cannot sufficiently appreciate. A copy of this roll should be preserved securely in the archives of the county as a permanent record and memorial and another copy should be sent to the capital to be placed in the Centennial Memorial Building.

"As a part of the processional, boys might be selected to represent the soldiers of the county who are in the service of their country. They might be dressed in khaki or boy scout uniforms, and each one provided with a sash or badge bearing the name of the

particular soldier whom he represents. If this is done, the boys should be impressed with the great honor conferred upon them in permitting them to represent the absent soldiers. It would be well to let the parents or relatives of each soldier select the boy who should represent him. In like manner, girls might be selected to represent the nurses and other women engaged in the service.

"Finally, all programs should be carefully and thoughtfully planned, and worked out with energy and enthusiasm. The occasion is worthy of best efforts."

The plans thus outlined by the Centennial Commission for the State-wide celebration, were very generally accepted throughout the State, and efforts were made in nearly every county to carry them out, at least in part. It must be borne in mind that up to almost the close of the Centennial year we were engaged in the greatest war the world has ever known. The minds and hearts of our people were continually gripped by matters of vital personal interest relating to the winning of that war. Liberty Loan drives, Red Cross drives, and all the various other war activities occupied the time and thought of the people almost to the exclusion of anything else.

Looking back over those days, it seems marvelous that the people of Illinois should have appreciated as they did the significance of our Centennial year, and should have given so much time and thought to its observance. This would certainly not have been done had they not been brought to feel, as the Centennial Commission and Governor Lowden felt from the beginning, that the fitting observance of Illinois' hundredth birthday was a valuable stimulus to the highest expression of patriotism.

Fitting acknowledgment should be made of the excellent work of Mr. Halbert O. Crews, publicity manager, in bringing to the attention of the people of Illinois the significance of the Centennial year. Nine different Bulletins were published during the year, of which a total of more than a hundred thousand copies were distributed, and in addition, a new story was sent out to all the papers of the State every week. The press of Illinois responded most generously, and the success of the Centennial was due in a large measure to the hearty cooperation of the papers of the State. It is

estimated that more than fifty thousand different articles or items appeared in the press of Illinois on the subject of the Illinois Centennial.

Celebrations were held on convenient dates during every month of the Centennial year, but the special Centennial dates were centers around which many of the principal observances were held. These dates were February 12, Lincoln's birthday; April 18, the anniversary of the passage of the Enabling Act; May 30, Memorial Day; July 4, which was also the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the capture of Fort Kaskaskia by George Rogers Clark; August 26, the anniversary of the adoption of the first constitution; October 5 and 6, the anniversary of the first State Legislature and the inauguration of the first governor, and December 3, the anniversary of the formal admission of Illinois into the Union.

A great many schools, churches and other organizations of the State had planned to hold celebrations during October and November, but were prevented from carrying out their plans by the epidemic of influenza which made necessary the closing of the schools throughout the State, and the prohibiting of public meetings of every kind. This epidemic particularly interfered with the excellent work of the State Council of Defense, which encouraged and promoted the giving of historical pageants.

The coinage of one hundred thousand Illinois Centennial half dollars furnished the State a permanent and valuable souvenir of the Centennial year. These coins bear the head of Lincoln on one side and the great seal of Illinois on the other, with appropriate inscriptions. The issuance of these coins was authorized by an act of Congress, the bill having been introduced by Congressman L. E. Wheeler, of Springfield. The coins were delivered to the Centennial Commission about the middle of August, and were handled through the State Treasury. They were apportioned to the counties of the State on the basis of population, one to each sixty persons, as shown by the census of 1910. The Centennial Commission furnished these coins to the County Centennial Committees at their face value, fifty cents each, on the condition that they should be sold at not less than one dollar each and the profits

used by the respective counties either to promote a county Centennial celebration, or be applied to some approved form of war relief or public service. Although nearly all of these coins have been distributed, a few remain in the State Treasury at the close of the Centennial year.

It would be a real pleasure to write into the official report of the Illinois Centennial Celebration, a detailed account of all the observances held throughout the State, but, of course, this is impossible. For example, a report made to the Commission of the celebrations held in one county covers about forty typewritten pages, and this county's report would not be complete were it abbreviated in any particular. The reports of the county and local celebrations that have been furnished the Commission will be carefully preserved by the State Historical Library.

In addition to the above reports fifteen large volumes of newspaper clippings have been carefully indexed and will be preserved in the State Historical Library. These furnish the complete story of all the Centennial celebrations held in Illinois, as given by the press of the State. In the future anyone wishing to know the details of the celebration held at any particular place will be able to find them given in these volumes of carefully selected newspaper clippings.

It may be unwise to call attention to any particular celebrations as being worthy of special note when all cannot be included, and so many were commendable. However, the following may be mentioned as typical of the best celebrations held:

The Centennial Pageant given at Starved Rock on July 4, 5 and 6, was one of the most elaborate and impressive celebrations held anywhere in the State. The committee having charge of this celebration was headed by Judge H. W. Johnson, of Ottawa, and the pageant was given under the direct management of Mrs. Florence Magill Wallace. Every part of the county was represented in the cast, and one of the most delightful features was the spirit of community cooperation. After paying all the expenses, the net proceeds were turned over to the Red Cross, amounting to more than a thousand dollars.

Another pageant, particularly impressive because of the historic memories that surround the place where it was held, was that given on September 6 and 7, by the Old Salem Lincoln League, of Menard County, on the spot where Abraham Lincoln spent many years of his early life. This pageant portrayed the historic incidents of Old Salem and of Lincoln's young manhood. It, too, was given under the management of Mrs. Florence Magill Wallace, supported by a very able committee, of which Judge G. E. Nelson was chairman.

St. Clair County deserves particular credit for the magnificent county celebration given at Perrin's Park at Belleville on September 10, 11, 12 and 13. A very impressive and beautiful pageant was written by Miss Pearl M. Tiley and given as a particular feature of this celebration. Judge Joseph B. Messick was president of the St. Clair County Centennial Committee, and Judge Frank Perrin, vice president and chairman of the board of directors.

Probably no county in the State had a more perfect Centennial organization than Adams County. Judge S. B. Montgomery, Judge Lyman McCarl, Joseph L. Thomas and Superintendent J. H. Steiner, were the leading officials in the organization, which secured the holding of successful Centennial celebrations in practically every township in the county. Under the auspices of the Women's Committee of the State Council of Defense, "The Masque of Illinois" was given before large audiences at Liberty, Mendon, Golden, Payson and Quincy.

Another very important celebration was that held at Albion in Edwards County, on September 18. This observance is deserving of particular note because it commemorated events of great historic significance in the early settlement of Illinois. The celebration was given under the auspices of the Edwards County Centennial Committee. Mr. Walter Colyer was chairman of the executive committee.

The Morgan County celebration, held at Jacksonville, on July 4, was unique in that it consisted of a carefully worked out processional pageant. The observance was a decided success, and the historic lessons which it portrayed were set forth in an artistic manner.

One of the features of the Kane County celebration at St. Charles, held on July 4, was a processional pageant, the floats being furnished from all parts of the county. A pageant under the management of Mrs. George S. Montgomery, portrayed historic scenes of intense interest. A number of excellent local celebrations were held in different parts of Kane County during the Centennial year.

The Winnebago County celebration was held at Rockford on July 4, at Camp Grant. In the forenoon General Martin and staff reviewed the entire 86th Division, the line of march being through the principal streets of the city. Officials, members of the G. A. R., and representatives of other patriotic organizations, occupied seats on the reviewing stand. At 6 p. m., a beautiful pageant was given at Camp Grant, witnessed by more than fifteen thousand people.

The Madison County Centennial celebration was held at Alton, on September 27. Governor Lowden was present and gave several addresses during the day at different places in the city where observances were held. Features of the celebration were a procession of the school children of the county, the unveiling of several historic markers, and an historical pageant given in the evening.

The Alexander County celebration on June 3, was given very largely by the schools of Cairo, under the management of Judge Dewey and County Superintendent Laura I. Milford, assisted by Miss Laura A. Miller, who had immediate charge of the children.

The Centennial celebrations held in Lake, McLean, Will, Woodford, Jersey, Grundy, Henderson, Piatt, DeKalb, Logan, Knox, Iroquois, Union, Macoupin, Jefferson, Kendall, Peoria, Vermilion, and Franklin counties are deserving of mention. In the other counties of the State the celebrations were given largely under the auspices of some city, village, school or local organization, but many of these excelled both in program and attendance some of the county celebrations mentioned. A complete list of these celebrations, so far as they have been reported to the Commission, has been furnished the State Historical Library, the number being too large to be included in this report.

A complete report of all the celebrations held in Cook County during the Centennial year would fill a volume. The schools both in Chicago and in the suburbs deserve great credit for what they accomplished. A very lively interest was taken in the study of Illinois history, and many gave pageants worthy of particular note. The management of the parks and playgrounds of Chicago also gave outdoor pageants and plays of historic interest and value. Northwestern University, the Chicago Normal College, and a number of the high schools gave pageants of their own production, which merit the highest commendation. Parochial and private schools were hardly second to the public schools in the interest taken.

On April 19, under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society, a celebration was held at Orchestra Hall. In the corridors were displayed some of the very valuable historical relics of the society. Mr. Clarence A. Burley, president of the society, presided at the meeting and gave a very interesting address on the early history of Chicago. Bishop Charles P. Anderson gave the principal address of the evening. Governor Lowden was on the platform but did not speak.

On May 11 was unveiled in Jackson Park, the Statue of the Republic, by Daniel C. French, the ceremonies being witnessed by ten thousand people. The Hon. Edward F. Dunne, former Governor of Illinois, gave the principal address on this occasion. On this same afternoon, the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs gave a pageant at the Auditorium, repeating it in the evening. On both occasions every seat was occupied and the production was received enthusiastically by a very large audience.

Chicago held its most important Centennial celebration beginning October 8 and ending October 13, under the management of a committee appointed by the State Council of Defense. Patriotic mass meetings were held in the Auditorium on the evenings of October 8 and 12, and a beautiful historical pageant was given on the evenings of October 9, 10 and 11, and on the afternoon of October 12. On Sunday, October 13, the Illinois Centennial Monument, erected in Logan Square, was formally dedicated, Governor Lowden delivering the principal address.

The Centennial Commission urged that a particular feature of the Centennial year should be the marking of historic places throughout the State. In response to this request a number of historic spots were marked.

In Piatt County was marked the place where Lincoln and Douglas met and arranged for the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates. At Albion was marked the location of the Old Park House, the home of Richard Flower, which was the finest residence in the Mississippi Valley during the early history of Illinois. At Alton was mounted the remains of the Lovejoy Printing Press, which was thrown into the river at the time Mr. Lovejoy was assassinated, and which was excavated a few years ago. In Bloomington the Daughters of the American Revolution marked the place where Lincoln delivered his famous Lost Speech. Decatur marked the place where Lincoln stopped when he first came with his family into Macon County. In Rock Island County was marked the first water power site on the Mississippi River, and in Sangamon County, the site of the first school house. In Williamson County was marked the spot where John A. Logan delivered his famous speech at the beginning of the war. In Lee County was marked the site of a famous old block house, and several historic markers were erected in Ottawa. Jersey County marked what is claimed to be the site of the first free school in Illinois, and Franklin County, the site of the first church in the county. At Libertyville was marked the site of the first postoffice in Lake County. In a number of localities in the State were marked places where Abraham Lincoln delivered an address. Morgan County marked the location of the home of Governor Duncan and the site of the first medical college in Illinois. The Jewish Historical Society placed a marker on the southwest corner of the Chicago postoffice, marking the location of the first Jewish tabernacle in the State.

Credit should be given to the churches of Illinois for the part taken by them in the proper observance of the Centennial year. There is probably not a church in the State in which some mention of the important events of Illinois history was not made at some service held during the Centennial year.

The services of Mr. Horace H. Bancroft, Assistant Director, were most valuable and much of the success of the statewide celebration is due to his efficient work as an organizer and speaker. Thoroughly familiar with all phases of Illinois history, he always delighted and instructed his audience by the eloquent and effective manner in which he presented his subject. During the year he prepared a booklet entitled "Illinois, An Historical Resume," which was published by the Commission and furnished free to schools, churches and societies throughout the State. This little booklet gives a concise and authentic account of the principal events in Illinois history.

All who were engaged in the Director's office gave more than mere formal service. Their hearts were in the work, and each one took a personal interest and pride in the success of the Centennial. For hundreds of little personal attentions which made the vast amount of work undertaken move smoothly and rapidly, they deserve great credit.

To the thousands of good people throughout the State who gave such hearty and cordial cooperation and assistance in promoting a successful Centennial observance, we express our deep appreciation. Had they not responded so wholeheartedly all our efforts would have been in vain.

REPORT OF HALBERT O. CREWS, MANAGER OF
PUBLICITY, TO THE PUBLICITY
COMMITTEE

—OF—

THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

REV. FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S. J., CHAIRMAN

Much of the success of the Centennial Celebration was due to the press of the State. The fine spirit of cooperation with the Commission and loyalty to the State displayed by the newspapers of Illinois during Centennial year deserves the highest commendation. Harassed by the business problems growing out of war conditions, overwhelmed with patriotic appeals for publicity for various war work activities and hampered by the necessity for

conservation of paper, the publishers nevertheless gave a great deal of time and space to Centennial publicity and thereby compelled attention.

The great problem in promoting the Centennial Celebration in the midst of the world war was to bring it into harmony with patriotic activities. The sentiment of the public would, of course, have been against any celebration which distracted attention from concentration on war work. Since the majority of people believed the celebration was likely to be merely a jollification, there was some opposition to it at first. This opposition was reflected in the press. During the summer of 1917, a number of newspapers, commenting editorially upon the forthcoming celebration, recommended its abandonment on the ground that it would interfere with war activities.

The eloquent statement of the patriotic purpose of the celebration made by Governor Lowden in his proclamation calling for the celebration of December 3, 1917, and the further explanations made by the Director of the Centennial, Hon. Hugh S. Magill, Jr., and by members of the Commission presented the matter in a different light, and every editor in the State, I believe, adopted the celebration as an opportunity for arousing the people to greater war activity. From that time on they gave it every encouragement possible.

The three great Press Associations and the Western Newspaper Union also deserve the thanks of the Centennial Commission. Mr. Luther R. Frame, manager of the Associated Press Bureau, Mr. Harold J. Riefler, manager of the United Press Bureau and Mr. H. G. Brolin, manager of the International News Bureau in Springfield aided materially in spreading news of the Centennial not only throughout Illinois but throughout the United States. The Western Newspaper Union gave very liberal space to Centennial news and Centennial pictures in its plate service. The Newspaper Enterprise Association, the New York Herald Service, the International Pictures Film Service, and other newspaper syndicates which supply pictures and features for newspapers, distributed many Centennial features among the newspapers of the United States.

In fact, this department has had much more cooperation and assistance in promoting Centennial publicity than it could reasonably have expected in view of the stress of war conditions.

I wish, therefore, at the very beginning of my report to express the gratitude of the Publicity Department and of the Centennial Commission for this able assistance, without which the Centennial Celebration could not have been a success.

The first Centennial Commission, created by the Forty-eighth General Assembly, selected Mr. S. Leigh Call of Springfield as its publicity manager. Mr. Call served the Commission very ably during the formative period of the plans for the celebration. He laid the foundation for the publicity that was to follow and by giving the public a comprehensive idea of what was to be attempted in Centennial Year made the work of the present manager much easier.

Upon the reorganization of the Commission following the next General Assembly, Mr. Joseph M. Page of Jerseyville was selected as publicity manager and he served until the appointment of the present Commission. He performed his duties very efficiently and through his personal acquaintance with many of the leading newspaper publishers of the State accomplished a great deal of good.

The Commission selected the present publicity manager in August, 1917. As practically no publicity work on the celebration had been done for several months, it was necessary to form a complete program for publicity and to prepare an educational campaign. With the approval of the Publicity Committee and the Centennial Commission, the following program was prepared:

A news-letter was to be sent to all the daily and weekly papers in the State every week. This letter was to contain short news articles on the Centennial and also a weekly historical feature.

In addition, frequent news articles were to be prepared and submitted to the three daily press associations for circulation throughout the State, and on occasions throughout the nation.

An effort was to be made to encourage feature articles on the Centennial in the Chicago newspapers.

When practical, cuts and matrices of Centennial pictures were to be secured and sent to the daily press of the State.

Pictures of persons or events of national interest were to be sent to the services supplying newspapers throughout the country and to the plate houses.

Newspapers were to be encouraged to publish special Centennial editions during the year.

A monthly bulletin for circulation throughout the State was to be published, giving important facts relative to the Centennial Celebration.

Such other matter as would best serve publicity purposes was to be printed and circulated.

Commercial and industrial concerns were to be encouraged to circulate Centennial souvenirs.

Centennial posters, the design for which had already been approved by the Commission, were to be hung in conspicuous places throughout the State at times best suited to advance Centennial publicity.

This plan has been followed throughout and has proved very satisfactory.

The weekly news-letters averaged about seven hundred to eight hundred words each and the historical feature articles were from four hundred words to seven hundred words in length. Once each month, also, an historical calendar was included. Both the news features and articles were used very extensively, many papers showing an eagerness to receive them. The historical calendar was made a daily feature by most papers. The first historical articles were prepared by the manager of publicity from the volume "Illinois in 1818," by Solon Justus Buck. These were short features of not over four hundred words, telling in simple and direct language some striking feature of the life in Illinois one hundred years ago. This series ran for several months and was followed by a series of short historical sketches on the beginnings of Chicago, written by William Lightfoot Visscher of Chicago. Mr. Visscher devoted considerable time to the preparation of these articles and they met with favor generally throughout the State. They ran for ten weeks and were followed by a series of sketches on the Governors of Illinois by William R. Sandham of Wyoming. This series continued until October and closed this phase of Cen-

ennial publicity. Mr. Sandham made a gift of these articles to the Centennial Commission. They were very accurately worked out and very interesting.

The Chicago newspapers throughout the year showed commendable interest in the Centennial. A number of pictures sent to them by the manager of publicity were reproduced in their daily and Sunday editions; some papers used the historical series sent from this office; special photographers were sent to celebrations held at Springfield to secure pictures for use in the papers; and Centennial supplements were published. The Chicago Tribune, during this fall, published a series of rotogravure supplements on the Centennial which were very attractive and interesting.

Among the pictures used extensively in the daily press in Illinois and throughout the United States during Centennial Year may be mentioned especially those of the statues of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, which were erected in the capitol grounds; the picture of Miss Florence Lowden, who played the part of "Illinois" in the Centennial Masque given at Springfield and the photograph of Mrs. Sarah J. Saunders, sister of Ann Rutledge, sent out in connection with the Centennial Celebration at New Salem.

A large number of Centennial editions have been issued by the newspapers of the State during the year. The News-Record and the Illinois State Register of Springfield published very elaborate editions. The Peoria Journal and several other large papers also have published special editions devoting many columns to the history of the State and to local history. This has aided materially in arousing public interest in the Centennial Celebration.

The first Centennial bulletin was issued in October, 1917. Since that time up to and including October, 1918, bulletins have been issued each month with four exceptions. These bulletins have served two principal purposes: they have aroused interest in the celebration immediately following the date of their issue and have given a report of the celebration held immediately prior to their issue. They have been sent to between ten thousand and fifteen thousand persons, selected because of their connection with local Centennial celebrations, or with organizations which would be ex-

pected to have particular interest in the Centennial. Newspapers frequently have copied articles from the bulletins. The bulletins were illustrated with half tones of persons prominent in the feature of the Centennial observance under discussion. They will be valuable for reference purposes in the future and no doubt a file of them will be available in practically every library of the State.

Among other matter published for publicity purposes may be mentioned the following:

"Suggestions for County and Local Celebrations."

"The Governors of Illinois," a reprint of the souvenir used at the Governor's Day Banquet given by the Centennial Commission in Springfield on December 3, 1917.

"The Illinois Centennial," a small folder giving an outline of the plans for Centennial Year, issued in the fall of 1917.

A card showing a picture of the Centennial banner and giving, on the reverse side, a brief statement of the plans for the Centennial, also published in the fall of 1917.

An address by Director Hugh S. Magill, Jr., delivered before the Illinois State Bankers' Association at Quincy, September 19, 1917.

"The Press," a reprint of a number of newspaper editorials on the Centennial, published in January, 1918.

"Pageant Building," by Florence Magill Wallace, published early in the spring of 1918 for the purpose of assisting local communities in giving pageants.

"Illinois, An Historical Resume," by Horace H. Bancroft, assistant director of the Centennial, published in the fall of 1918 for the purpose of assisting school teachers in calling attention to the significance of the Centennial.

Pageants, little plays, a prompt book, music, etc., for the use of communities desiring to give pageants.

A great many commercial establishments used Centennial souvenirs for advertising purposes throughout the year. The design most favored, apparently, was a small reproduction of the Centennial banner on an enameled pin. This was used very extensively in many localities throughout the State.

Something over sixty thousand Centennial posters were used during Centennial year. Most of these were window cards but some were large posters printed on paper. These posters were distributed to the banks, schools, railway stations, and public buildings throughout the State. They were provided for use of local Centennial organizations in calling attention to their community celebrations. A small supply of Centennial buttons also was distributed. Three hundred thousand Centennial stickers were printed and used on mail sent out from State departments.

The Centennial banner, designed by Wallace Rice, pageant writer of the Centennial Commission, proved very popular and was a distinct aid in publicity. The Centennial Commission presented to each county organization a large Centennial banner; the retail stores throughout the State purchased supplies of cheap banners and these were used in every local celebration. Throughout the year, the Centennial banner and the American flag have been displayed side by side at every important public gathering in Illinois.

All through Centennial Year, by special arrangement with the postoffice department at Washington, a special Centennial cancellation stamp was used on all mail passing through the Springfield postoffice. This also helped to keep the Centennial before the public.

The Illinois State Board of Agriculture rendered valuable assistance in publicity in connection with the Centennial State Fair which was advertised as "The Illinois Centennial State Fair and Industrial Exposition." For several months prior to the Fair, which was held from August 9 to August 26, publicity matter was sent out calling attention to its special Centennial significance. Calendars, posters, folders and other literature were sent broadcast by the Fair Board and newspaper publicity was used liberally. All of this aided in spreading the Centennial idea.

Practically every county fair in Illinois adopted the same policy, calling the 1918 fair "The Centennial Fair." This department assisted all of these local fairs in their publicity by providing Centennial posters for display in windows of business houses.

Another source of publicity was the State conventions held during the year. Practically every State association called atten-

tion at its 1918 convention to the Centennial and to the significance of the occasion. Many of these organizations provided special Centennial badges to be worn by the delegates and most of them gave up part of their programs to Centennial addresses.

The churches of the State also aided materially in Centennial publicity. October 6 was set aside by the Centennial Commission as Centennial Sunday and a great many churches held special services on that occasion. Some denominations, however, entered into the spirit of the Centennial even more fully. Centennial songs were sung on frequent occasions and Centennial histories of the work of many denominations in the State were prepared.

Advocates of the Constitutional Convention proposition, the Sixty Million Dollar Good Roads proposition and the amendment to the Banking Law, doing away with private banks, made good use of the argument that because this was Centennial year the State should prepare for the new century by adopting these constructive measures.

All of these, by constantly keeping the Centennial thought before the people, contributed to the success of the celebration.

How the press, both of the State and of the nation, entered into the spirit of the Centennial is shown by the following brief excerpts from editorials in some of the leading newspapers:

THE ST. LOUIS GLOBE DEMOCRAT.—Yesterday was the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Enabling Act which admitted the State of Illinois to the Union. On that, and the day preceding, there were services commemorative of the event held in the Illinois State House at Springfield, under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission and the Illinois State Historical Society. Early in the present year Governor Lowden issued an appeal to Illinoisans to assemble in local meetings in the counties for the purposes of inspiring themselves in the work of making the Illinois Centennial Year one worthy not only of the State's illustrious past, but of long remembrance in the future. It may have been felt at that time that the absorption of the public interest in the world war in which this country is engaged, would lead to a partial forgetfulness of the duty of remembering how this nation, and its third State, have grown into proportions now making the

United States the hope of freedom in many lands. The fathers who builded so wisely and so well that their works do follow them as now, are worthy of remembrance in every state which, in its foundations, is the work of their hands.

THE BURLINGTON (Iowa) HAWKEYE.—* * * The only way of guessing at the future is by measuring the past. If Illinois makes as marvelous progress in the second century of her life as a State as was made in the first, it will indeed be beyond the ability of the prophet to presage and depict what the State will be like in 2018. And yet, there is no good reason for assuming that progress should not be just as swift, just as great in the new century as it has been in the old.

Illinois is going to start the new century right, by setting a monument to the old, that will be the source of pride to her own people and a cause for envy in some of the other states of the Middle West. She is planning a system of real roads, of 365-days-in-the-year roads, which will traverse and connect all of the 102 counties of the State. She is going to build this truly marvelous system of roads without asking the more or less patient taxpayer for a dollar. And hence it is to be assumed that at the November election the plan will have the unanimous endorsement of the people of the State.

There will truly be the beginning of a new era in Illinois, and people will date events of greater or less importance as happening before or after they got real roads.

Long before 2018, Illinois will be pitying the pioneers of 1918, who had to get along as well as they could, practically without roads. And they will be wondering how the people became rich and powerful despite that handicap.

THE YOUNGSTOWN (Ohio) VINDICATOR.—The State of Illinois is a hundred years old, an event in the life of the State that has been observed in keeping with the times which have caused a redirection of effort and money. A hundred years seems a long time, but then think of what has been done in Illinois in that period. The prairies are today dotted with prosperous cities and towns and there is a great population busy with the affairs of life and doing its share in this great war which has brought such change

in the lives of all people. The development of Illinois in the century is but the repetition of the work of other states of this great Union, great because of the greatness of its commonwealths and the industry and enterprise of their people, possessing the wills to go ahead fearless of the dangers and obstacles in the way of pioneer work. Illinois and every state testifies to the endurance and perseverance of the early settlers and the purpose of those who later came upon the scene to build greater.

THE TROY (New York) TIMES.—Illinois will celebrate this year the one hundredth anniversary of admission to the Union, and preparations are under way to make the observance impressive.

* * * The program to be carried out will illustrate anew the dramatic and romantic occurrences in the development of the country, Illinois having had a fair share. Illinois was the eighth state admitted to the Union after the formation of the Republic by the original thirteen. Like many other feeble commonwealths of earlier days, the State has grown enormously in population, wealth and importance, and the centenary will afford an opportunity to celebrate accordingly.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR (Boston, Mass.)—* * * Illinois, in its first century, has played a large part in the history of the country. It has developed men on lines as broad as its prairies. It need only point to Lincoln, Douglas, Shields, Yates, Washburne, Grant, Logan, and Oglesby for proof of this. It did its full part in the Mexican War and in the Spanish War. It is doing its full part in the greatest of wars. And yet, considerably less than one hundred years ago, it was regarded as, except in some limited areas and isolated spots, merely a good hunting ground.

* * * But it is neither by population nor by wealth that Illinois likes to be judged, in these times, nor is it by these that it will be judged by students who shall read its history as Governor Lowden would have it read. Relatively, no state in the Union has done more than Illinois for public education, for art, for culture, for the general advancement, comfort, and happiness of its people in the last ninety-nine years; nor is any state in the union more

willing than Illinois to do its full share now for the future safeguarding of humanity and civilization.

THE BOSTON (Mass.) HERALD.—* * * Illinois has much to celebrate. Its story is an inspiring one, and it holds a proud position in the sisterhood of states. In its plan of celebration it sets a fine example for the group of states whose centenaries fall within the next few years.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.—The Tribune believes the full significance of this Centennial Year should be brought home to our people, especially to the young, especially to the foreign born, especially to the people of this polyglot city, who are little conscious of the State as a special or political entity or of its inspiring part in the history of America. The Tribune believes that the war gives to this intelligent effort to commemorate our past an exceptional importance. We need to be made more conscious of our nationality and our statehood. Many of our citizens need to have their thoughts turned from their European traditions to the traditions of the country and the region which they have chosen to make their home and to which they now owe a paramount, an undivided allegiance. Many races have gone to the making of Illinois, from the pioneer Frenchmen of heroic memory to the newcomers of eastern Europe. But now they have chosen to be Americans, to be Illinoisans, and it is well for us all in this year of honorable memories and world responsibilities to draw together, to unite in commemoration of our forerunners, in the renewal of their spirit and in drawing strength from their example to meet the responsibilities of this hour.

THE ROCK ISLAND UNION.—From April 18, 1818, to the present time, Illinois has been prosperous and patriotic. From a small population and scattered settlements it has become populous, prosperous, and has a record of fealty to the government surpassed by no state in the Union. In every crisis Illinois stood back of the country of which it is a part.

THE CHAMPAIGN NEWS.—A century ago Illinois started out with some mighty big problems confronting her. The first century of her existence as a State has been filled with accomplishments so great that she stands the peer of the states of the world. Today

at the beginning of her second century she stands as a tremendous power in the solution of the problems of the nation. And the State and nation are indeed fortunate that the driving hand of that power is the hand of Governor Frank O. Lowden. Since his induction into the office of Governor he has rapidly demonstrated that he can grasp and handle big problems in a big way.

THE JACKSONVILLE COURIER.—Quite generally Illinois is engaged in celebrating its one hundredth anniversary as a State. Its people should be justly proud of the fact that it has been a member of the commonwealth of states for a century, for Illinois is no ordinary State, but stands near the top of the list in many highly desirable respects. Carved out of the vast prairies by the pioneer, made habitable and a desirable place of residence by the wisdom of those early settlers, it has been developed into probably the greatest agricultural State in the Union, although it possibly may be passed by some of the newer commonwealths by the time they have had the same sort of development and have enjoyed the same benefits of time. It is as well a great manufacturing State and one of the greatest of the live stock producers in the Union. Illinois has produced great men in plentitude and has been honored by having them elevated to high positions in national affairs. In educational endeavors the State stands high, its university ranking with the best and it undoubtedly is given more liberal support than any similar institution in the world.

THE CHICAGO JOURNAL.—The Centennial Celebrations now well under way in Illinois are properly engaged in paying their respects to Judge Nathaniel Pope, who was the delegate of the Illinois Territory in Congress at the time when the Enabling Act was under consideration. The State owes to him a debt which can never be measured, and no child should ever be allowed to pass through the schools without having a lesson of Pope's great service impressed upon his memory. Never was a prophetic vision of statesman better exemplified than in Pope's plea for a reconsideration of the northern boundary of the State as fixed by the north-western ordinance. Without the counties brought within the limits of the State by the 40 miles of northward extension resulting from Pope's plea, Illinois would have continued to increase its population

mainly by way of Ohio River, while the flood of immigration from the East would have swelled the Wisconsin census figures. Illinois would have remained what it was in its early days, a State in sympathy with slavery, and determined to legalize the "peculiar institution."

THE CHICAGO POST.—If Illinois today lives up to the record of her glorious past she will play a splendid part in the nation's supreme effort. The story of our State is an inspiration, and the Chicago Historical Society is doing real service by visualizing it for us just now, when our hearts need every influence and impulse that can stir it to action.

THE PEORIA TRANSCRIPT.—Illinoisans are proud of their State. It has contributed notably to the nation's galaxy of statesmen, soldiers and publicists, to its industry, commerce and transportation. Illinois, rather than Pennsylvania, is the keystone state of the Union. We are sometimes hysterical and sometimes lethargic, but our hearts beat true and in this great struggle for world democracy, the sovereign State of Illinois has no cause to be ashamed.

THE ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL.—This city has been the theater of some of the greatest events in the history of Illinois. Here have its greatest men lived and worked. For the greater part of the century, it has been the political center of the State and the seat of government. Its history has been largely the State's history. Its people can not be unappreciative of what the Centennial of Illinois means to the capital of Illinois.

THE CHICAGO HERALD.—Illinois can only look back with respect for the strong men and women who achieved so much and with reverence for the century which brought so many things to fruition, and with humility before an unread future. For work which calls forth the best of human gifts is still waiting to be done.

THE ROCKFORD REGISTER-GAZETTE.—The events of the early day interest and instruct us. They were the forerunner of a great State of the future. Several separate nations of Europe are not as large as Illinois in population and are short of its possibilities in food raising.

THE SPRINGFIELD NEWS-RECORD.—It is fortunate that Illinois is to observe its one hundredth anniversary, this year. The Centennial Celebration will serve to arouse State pride and State consciousness. It will stir up community interest, as nothing else could.

During the year, every county is to have its local celebration, and there will be a great central observance at Springfield. Everywhere, the part Illinois has had in the building of the nation will be recalled forcefully.

The fact that this State produced the President, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and many of the great statesmen and brainy generals of the Civil War, should spur us to increased activity at this time. The fact that Illinois in one hundred years has grown from a wilderness inhabited by scarcely 40,000 people to a rich State of 6,000,000 population, should remind us of our great responsibilities.

The Centennial Commission has no intention of making the celebration a play festival. It is to be deeply patriotic, and will serve a patriotic purpose. Every county, every city, every school, should participate in it.

Clippings from the press obtained through the agency of two press clipping bureaus have been collected by the Publicity Department during the year and pasted in scrap books. There are fifteen large scrap books filled with these clippings. These books have been indexed and will be kept on file in the State Historical Library for the benefit of any one desiring to follow in detail the progress of the celebration.

Beginning with a handicap, the Centennial Celebration proved remarkably successful from every standpoint and this success is due to the cooperation of the press, of State organizations, of local committees, and of the public generally, in disseminating information regarding the purposes and ideals of the celebration. To all of these agencies and not to the Publicity Department alone, which merely sowed the seeds, must go the credit for the great amount of publicity the celebration secured during the year.

REPORT OF FREDERICK BRUEGGER, PAGEANT
MASTER TO THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL
COMMISSION

I was appointed Pageant Master of the Illinois Centennial Commission, June 10, 1918. My duties were to consist of presenting in public performances, Mr. Wallace Rice's "Masque of Illinois," music by Mr. Edward C. Moore, at Springfield, August 26th, and in Vandalia late in September as well as to present Mr. Rice's "Pageant of the Illinois Country" at Springfield during the first week of October.

Almost immediately after my appointment it was my good fortune to assist in arranging an agreement between the Centennial Commission and the Woman's Committee of the State Council of Defense. By this agreement the Woman's Committee became interested in having the Masque presented throughout the State by the local organizations.

The Commission did all in its power to assist the towns and cities presenting the Masque. In several cases, it was found necessary to send me in order to instruct the local committees of arrangements as to the methods of procedure. It was work not contemplated in my contract, but it gave me a keen personal satisfaction to be engaged in what I considered missionary work of the highest value. For there is nothing so develops the "get together spirit," as the presenting of a historical pageant in which all the community is invited to take part.

However, the presentation for the official giving of the Masque was naturally of the first importance. Upon my recommendations, assistants were appointed—Mr. Russell Abdill as art director, Mrs. Frederick Bruegger as musical director, and Miss Lucy Bates as director of the dance.

No praise is too high for these assistants of mine. It was love of the work which added the enthusiasm that money cannot buy.

In the preparation of the costumes, Mrs. R. C. Lanphier and Mrs. Logan Hay, the Springfield Costume Committee, accomplished wonders. These two ladies devoted themselves in a manner which

deserves special mention both now and one hundred years from now when our State's second hundred years will be told in speech, dance and in song.

Bracketed with their names must go those of Mrs. P. B. Warren, Mrs. Vincent Y. Dallman, Miss Theresa Gorman and Mr. R. Albert Guest, the Cast Committee which was tireless in its efforts of securing those who took part in the performances.

Colonel Richings J. Shand deserves mention in the same niche of fame.

The work of rehearsing took a little over three weeks, while costuming, etc., was being planned and prepared. Mr. Henry Helmle drew the plans for the stage which was to be erected in the Coliseum. He and Mr. Clyde Evans, the contractor, though they declared it could not be done, actually did what I believe never was done before. I was compelled to insist upon a dress rehearsal at 2:30 Sunday afternoon, August 25th.

Work was begun at 8:00 o'clock Saturday morning, August 24th, and they built a stage 127 feet wide, 97 feet deep, with three sets of wings, 16 feet high, an apron with entrances and three platforms to the stage. Moreover, we were rehearsing at 2:45 Sunday afternoon.

More than fifty loads of branches and actual trees converted this stage into a woodland bower which won the praise of such critics as Mr. Lorado Taft, the sculptor and Mr. Ralph Clarkson, the portrait painter.

Over nine hundred people took part in the performance August 26, before an enormous audience. Thousands of people were turned away.

The Vandalia performances were given on September 26, both afternoon and evening of the same day, as it rained the day of the first performance. They were given out of doors, the audiences covering a semi-circular hill.

Three hundred and fifty people took part, coming from all parts of Fayette County. The evening performance will always be featured in my mind as the most beautiful out-of-door scene I have beheld. It is certain that in addition to the educational value,

the presentations have left a lasting community spirit influence throughout the Vandalia district.

There is credit enough for all in Vandalia, but to the patience and "stick-to-itiveness" of the Hon. J. J. Brown and Mr. Norval Gochenouer is due the success attained.

It was decided not to present the "Pageant of the Illinois Country," but to repeat the Masque, adding a new scene for the October celebration at Springfield. Mr. Rice and Mr. Moore surpassed themselves in the final scene, which was thrilling and enobling in its patriotic appeal.

It was rehearsed in ten days and staged with more than thirteen hundred performers—a splendid success. It seemed particularly fitting that the daughter of Illinois' Governor, Miss Florence Lowden, could and did interpret the taxing role of Illinois; that our State's Adjutant General, Frank S. Dickson, should be gifted with a sonorous voice which thrilled its hearers as he spoke the Prologue. It was a satisfaction that performers came from every sect, society and school.

Figures have been submitted, reports sent in by the committee and nothing but a slight resume is called for from your Pageant Master, but may I not take this opportunity of thanking your Chairman, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, your Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber and the Commission itself, collectively and individually for the unfailing courtesy and painstaking help constantly given me. To Mr. Hugh S. Magill, Jr., your Director, and Mr. Halbert O. Crews, your Publicity Expert, I also extend my thanks.

Though I live to see the next Centennial, I can never forget, come to me whatever honors there may, I shall always esteem it the highest privilege I ever attained, that I was permitted to have been Pageant Master of the Illinois Centennial Commission.

PAGEANTS AND MASQUES

BY WALLACE RICE

Whatever the forms assumed in modern times by pageants, such forms, in response to the innate desire in human nature for the display of all the splendors humanity can command, are of the remotest antiquity. Memorials of them are carved upon an-

cient Egyptian bassi rilievi, are shown in Grecian sculpture, and persist in the triumphal arches of the Romans. Indeed, it is not too much to say that no tribe of men has ever been found, however savage its state, which did not combine processions, dancing, songs, and some form of histrionism for the better celebration of high events in its annals, whether religious or secular. Indications of them are to be found in the Scriptures, while Babylon and Peru, Nineveh and Mexico, ancient Hindus and modern red Indians, all used the materials now come into new being in later years for the manifestation of their belief in their gods or in themselves.

Many of the pageants instituted during the middle ages persisted in European cities until the beginning of the Great War, and many more will doubtless be revived now that it is closed. In these the religious and military and civil bodies of the place usually collaborated, as was the mediæval custom. It is to be remarked that all pageantry, ancient and modern, has always proceeded in a manner carefully prescribed, often based upon older precedent, and frequently according to a strict ritual ceremony. The religious processions of remote civilization, the triumphs and ovations of the Romans, the great celebrations through centuries of feast days in the Roman Catholic and Greek churches, the coronations of monarchs, even the processions of returning soldiers in the days just passing, have in them all the ordered effect of numerous rehearsals, of details carefully worked out beforehand, of music and color, and in most cases of the spoken word used with dramatic effect. That public celebrations have taken on this character of well considered and adroitly ordered ceremony is due of course to the fact that either the soldier, the priest, or both have been in control, the two professions which above all others lend themselves to ceremonial. What the lack of it means requires no later instancing than the celebrations of the signing of the armistice in November, 1918; they were mere disorder, with their tendency toward rowdyism and rioting.

The word pageant is both peculiar to English and old in the language. Its first use, so far as careful investigation discloses it, is by Wyclif in 1380, when it stands for a scene in a mystery play, and is plausibly derived from the Latin *pagina*, a single page suf-

ficing for the instructions for a single scene. But it also meant the stage or platform, fixed or movable, upon which the mystery was enacted, and was so used twelve years later. By 1432 it had come to have an inclusive meaning for any sort of show, device, or temporary structure, exhibited as a feature of a public triumph or celebration, and it was not until the beginning of the last century that it took on the significance of splendid display or spectacle, in which it is now chiefly used.

The practice has persisted, whatever the changes in the meaning of the word. Many of the ancient cities of the European continent have annually commemorated episodes in their history through centuries, and Coventry in England in 1678 began the processions showing the traditional ride of Lady Godiva through its streets. But in the purely modern sense of the term, the pageant owes its existence to Mr. Louis N. Parker, the English novelist and dramatist, who began a long series of artistic triumphs in this field with the Pageant of Sherborne in 1905. It is said, and is possibly true, that Mr. Parker took his brilliant idea from "The Pageant of Rough Riders" in the Hon. William F. Cody's 'Wild West Show.'

These pageants of Mr. Parker's were all commemorative of the local history of the city in which they were given, and included all that can be said to make up a display at once commemorative and splendid. They were made up, like the old mystery plays, of processions, of scenes acted on floats or on historical spots, with appropriate dialogue, costuming, and action, of memorial poems and addresses, of marches and songs and dances to music often specially composed, and sometimes with temporary stages highly decorated and made beautiful with varicolored lights at night. Little dependent upon professional actors, though these have often taken part, they have been community affairs in which the most capable of resident volunteers have supplied the persons for both processions and dramatic scenes. The tendency has been to enlarge their scope, so suitable have they proved for celebrations of various kinds, as when the pageant of the Church of England was given on the grounds of the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1909, two years after the University of Oxford had celebrated in a simi-

lar manner. There is little doubt that they will be revived in England after reconstruction has brought complete peace to the nation.

In the United States the city of New Orleans has, since 1827, given elaborate pageants at carnivals, the first procession being seen in that year, floats being used for the first time ten years later. Interrupted only by the Civil War, these celebrations are both elaborate and splendid, and require no detailed description here. But the incidents used are not as a rule historical, and have the widest possible field in literature and drama and allegory. Preceding Mr. Parker's Sherborne pageant by four years, Yale College gave a pageant, the book of which was written by Professor E. B. Reed, at its bicentennial celebration, made up chiefly of scenes taken from the long and honorable history of the institution and played upon a stage with appropriate dialogue and costumes. But this was sporadic; the revival is due to Mr. Parker, as stated. This was followed in 1916 by the pageant of the Yale Bowl, which incorporated music, dancing, allegory, and all the features possible in an out-of-door performance in daylight, serving to show the great distance passed in fifteen years in the conception of pageantry.

Illinois is fortunate in having added considerably to the enlargement of the pageant idea, with a growth which owes little or nothing to the preceding events mentioned in England or the older States of the Union. Mr. Thomas Wood Stevens, born in Dayville, Ogle County, wrote in January, 1909. 'The Pageant of the Italian Renaissance,' which was produced at the Art Institute in Chicago by the painters, sculptors, and art students of the city, with an effect seldom attained in recent times. Mr. Stevens took for his model Shakespeare's 'Henry V,' dramatizing such scenes as lent themselves to this treatment, and telling the rest of the long story by means of prologues spoken by a herald. There is no better blank verse written for stage production in modern America than that composed by Mr. Stevens for his six prologues and eleven of his twelve scenes, the eighth alone being in prose; and the entire production can best be described as magnificent. Its sole defect was its length, which extended somewhat beyond the two hours and a half constituting the apparent limit of an American audience's patience.

The same year saw Mr. Stevens' "Historical Pageant of Illinois" produced at the Northwestern University in Evanston, to be followed by pageants at Belleville, Edwardsville, the "Pageant of the Old Northwest" at Milwaukee in 1911, the "Independence Day Pageant" written in collaboration with the late Kenneth Sawyer Goodman in Chicago in 1915, the altogether beautiful and impressive "Pageant of St. Louis" in 1914, that in Newark in 1916, and several more of lesser note. In all, historical scenes with prologues were utilized.

The form into which these works of Mr. Stevens tended to crystallize, the time element playing its necessary part, takes from the history of the community celebrating the six scenes best lending themselves to dramatic portrayal in chronological order, links them with prologues before each scene, limits the scenes to less than twenty minutes and the prologues to not more than fifty lines, seeks to organize the stage so that stage waits will not exceed ten minutes, and with good stage management compresses a complete historical celebration well within three hours. They all require the most expert stage management, are written for out-of-door production on a temporary stage between 50 and 80 feet wide and correspondingly deep, provide for such dances as assist in explaining local history, admit of songs to the same end, but in the main rely upon their effects by dramatic scenes and prologues. They are best given at night, when darkness can be used as a curtain for the necessary scene shifting, and when the effects of modern stage lighting can only be obtained.

"The Glorious Gateway of the West," composed by the late Kenneth Sawyer Goodman and the writer of this for the Indiana centennial at Fort Wayne in 1916, shows this type of pageant in hands other than those of its originator. So does "The Pageant of the Illinois Country" and "The Six Little Plays for Illinois Children," both written for the Illinois Centennial, and thought to be the first attempts to render the history of a commonwealth as distinguished from a city, as well as the first attempts to fill the intervals between the acts with processions of an historical character,

thus demanding even more careful organization and expert stage management than before.

"The Pageant of Illinois," designed for the October celebration at the Auditorium in Chicago, was of a different character. Time being denied for adequate rehearsals, the dramatic scenes could not be used. But a chorus of 500 voices was promised as a background to the processions, considerably elaborated, of the pageant previously mentioned, and all the music for the Centennial composed and adapted by Mr. Edward C. Moore, marches, songs, and dances, was also available. Much of the procession was to have passed to the singing of the chorus, which was also to serve as an accompaniment for the dances. The opportunity passed, and will not come again until a body of music comparable with Mr. Moore's is again at the disposal of the celebrants. It may be stated with confidence that not less than six weeks' rehearsal should precede any attempt to give such a performance, and that nothing less than the most expert stage management procurable can secure the results desired even then.

It is to be noted further that in designing the several scenes for such a dramatic pageant as has been described, it is desirable to secure the services of as many persons as can be induced to volunteer. There need not be many speaking parts, but anything like the economy of characters which must be considered in the commercial drama has no place here. The stage is almost of necessity a large one, and to secure effects it should be a populous one. In his pageant at Newark, New Jersey, the exigencies of seating compelled Mr. Stevens into the use of a stage hundreds of feet in length in order that with a shallow space available for his audience as many could be seated as possible. The results were not so happy that a stage wider than 80 feet should be again resorted to. It requires too long for any given character to reach a position in which the attention of an audience so distributed can be secured, and too long to retreat from it. Mr. Stevens used what he called "dissolving foci" to overcome the difficulty, whereby groups near one entrance could give way to groups near the other, but the experiment could not be called successful. Eighty feet is as much as can be effectively controlled, and if there is fifty feet of depth it will take

a hundred or more characters to make the stage fully interesting, two hundred is not too many, and with expert management a still larger number can be utilized to advantage in each scene. With such a number, too, occasional processional effects can be secured, groups made to meet and dissolve into one another, later to separate and take their own courses. And the possibilities of staging actual conflicts, such as enter into the history of most American communities, are thus given far greater chances for plausibility.

The costs of such a pageant are large and increase with the number of participants. But so does the interest in the community upon which the attendance depends. Being out-of-doors, this attendance is conditioned on the weather, and no date should be set without the assurance of the nearest weather bureau that the chance for a succession of fair and warm nights is better than average. A charge should always be made, sufficient to recoup the projectors of the celebration and, whenever possible, to leave enough to erect a permanent memorial of the event celebrated. The public values little what is given it for nothing, and is actually more interested in going to a performance for which it has to pay. The number of performances must depend upon the size of the community and the provisions for transportation in its neighborhood, both for coming to and for going from the grounds where they are given. And publicity is an essential expense to be reckoned on.

The technic of the pageant is, of course, the technic of the drama with such changes as the essential conditions compel. Working out a dramatic situation in twenty minutes or less, there is, obviously, no time for the introduction and identification of characters, such as may be insisted upon in other stage productions. This must be effected by the programmes, and to make it the more certain, these should be given the widest possible circulation in advance. The occasion, too, is a celebration, and no pageant is put on for a run. Resorting to tricks of one sort and another familiar to every producer of burlesque, revue, musical comedy, and the like, as if the pageant, too, were making a bid for the continued flow of money from its audiences and were solely dependent upon them for its support, is an idle waste of energy.

Then, too, the facts of history are inexorable, and in this respect accuracy is essential even at the sacrifice of dramatic opportunity. With a large number of persons on the stage, particular attention should be given to movement, as distinguished from action; scenes combining both are, it is apparent, to be striven for. This does not mean that local legends, which sometimes have the narrowest basis in fact, may not be utilized; on the contrary, they are frequently effective material. But they should be noted as legends.

One difficulty stands in the way of securing from an audience the appreciation necessary for dramatic success in any public celebration through dramatic form from one end of America to the other: The prejudice against the theatre which is found in many of the religious denominations, including some which are numerically powerful. This is the fundamental trouble, leading to inability to grasp the scene even when depicted, to the absence of amateur actors with experience from which to cast pageants, to lack of voices, especially among women, which can project themselves to the audience, to a lack of conviction in the necessity of repeated rehearsals that the pageant may go aright on the night, and to a hundred minor matters which force the demand that the stage manager and his assistants, at least, shall have professional experience and the power to secure obedience to directions hard to gain from quite undisciplined participants in the performance. It cannot be too strongly insisted that if a town or community is worth celebrating, it is worth celebrating well, and any community seeking to celebrate along lines of least resistance will find itself the worse, instead of the better, if it does not secure the best production possible, in spite of the fact that the audiences are dramatically inexperienced. Too many are betrayed by the fallacy Doctor Johnson found in the admiration bestowed upon a dog walking on its hind legs—"It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all." The writer is entirely of opinion that a poor celebration is worse than none, and that if it cannot be done well, it had better not be done at all. And if it is to be done upon a stage through any dramatic medium, it cannot possibly be done well by any person or combi-

nation of persons unfamiliar with stage traditions, methods, and practice.

It is worth remembering, too, that there is an essential immorality involved in taking money from an audience and not returning it straightway in the form of the money's worth; just as there is an assured immorality in not exacting the full money's worth for a good performance; Governor Altgeld has pointed out the evils that flow from "getting something for nothing." "Submission to the test of the market," in the vivid phrase of Professor Henry Augustin Beers, has been the test of good literature and good drama from the beginning; and if a community giving a pageant is in a real sense able to rely for attendance at it upon something more than a commercial quid pro quo, all the more is it in honor bound to do so much at least. To do otherwise is to combine the acceptance of public charity with fraud in the means by which the charity is obtained.

Once outside the realm of the dramatic historical pageant, a creature as has been seen of essentially modern birth and growth, for purposes of public celebration the masque immediately presents itself. Democratic and receptive as the pageant idea has always been in this country since its inception, no useful or artistic purpose is served by confusion of ideas and terms expressing it. The pageant may very well remain episodic historical dramatization, with its characters those of history. Its book therefore will be in prose and may or may not be literature so long as it is dramatic. It rightly includes historical orations and speeches, historical dances to show older customs and manners, historical songs, historical prayers and religious services, as well as dances written to aid in the explication of historical ideas and songs to the same end.

But symbolism and allegory belong in another field and it requires a more than ordinarily skilful hand to combine the prose of the pageant with the poetry involved in the other medium. It is well, therefore, to call these last masques or masque scenes, and leave the word pageant to describe dramatic productions in strictly dramatic scenes in which there is, nevertheless, a processional idea—of the orderly march of historical events, if nothing

more, concluding with a return to the stage of all the persons of the scenes upon the close of the last by way of grand finale as in 'The Pageant of the Renaissance,' or, as in 'The Pageant of the Illinois Country,' with processions between the scenes and a final procession of soldiers and sailors and the flags of the Allied Nations.

With the masque, writer, actors, and audience are upon assured dramatic ground at last, and dealing with something more than modern invention and ingenious experimentation. Moreover, they are all dealing with the only form of dramatic literature which has assured dramatic and literary merit and which—and this is most important and little taken into account—with a form of dramatic literature in which accomplished play-writers wrote for amateur, as distinguished from professional, production. Shakespeare himself utilized its methods in "A Midsummer Nighth's Dream" and "The Tempest,," and the great Ben Johnson was its best exponent and placed next himself Fletcher and Chapman as masque writers. Every student of English literature knows, or should know, of the masques of the later Tudors and earlier Stuarts, and they should be familiar to all attempting to enter this field in our own day; such knowledge could not fail to produce better masques.

In their simpler forms masques closely approached processional pageants in showy display and absence of the spoken word and not infrequently surpassed them in expenditure and splendor. They brought together in a single show when at their best, oratory and dramatic dialogue, the song and dance, and the most ingenious and elaborate stage decorations and mechanisms. The dramas of ancient Athens are probably the only stage productions upon which more money was spent, and these they probably exceeded in mechanical ingenuity. Let it be said in proof that Shirley's "Triumph of Peace" produced by the members of the Four Inns of Court at London on February 3, 1633-4, cost the modern equivalent of more than \$1,000,000, of which more than \$50,000 went to the music alone, and was probably exceeded by Carew's "Coelum Britannica,," given fifteen days later, in which King James I acted. The music for both was written by Henry Lawes, the stage ma-

chinery and effects for both devised by Inigo Jones. And on September 29 of the same year Henry Lawes, whom Milton has immortalized in a sonnet which should be learnt by heart by every modern musician who undertakes to set a poet's words to music, procured for this same John Milton the writing and production of 'Comus' at Ludlow Castle near the Welsh border, Milton having already proved his capacity for such a task three or four years earlier with 'Arcades,' played at Harefield, the county seat of the Dowager Duchess of Derby, only ten miles from Horton, the home of Milton and his father, this latter an accomplished musician.

But after these early and most glorious days of the masque it so completely disappeared from view in the English speaking world that the last edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica can say of it in 1911, "It is strange that later English poets should have done so little to restore to its nobler uses, and to invest with a new significance, a form so capable of further development as the poetic masque."

Here again it is with pride that Illinois can point to the steps here first taken to bring it anew into public favor. William Vaughn Moody, long connected with the University of Chicago, published in 1900 his 'Masque of Judgment,' a noble poem cast in masque form and, though written as literature and before its author had turned his attention to the drama properly speaking, capable of stage production in much the older manner. In 1906 Thomas Wood Stevens and the present writer composed "The Chaplet of Pan" for production by the Little Room of Chicago. Owing to the difficulties not always to be avoided when writing for amateurs, this masque was not actually given until produced by Donald Robertson and his company of Players at Ravinia Park on the night of August 29, 1908, following a revival of "Comus" by the same company. The evening was notable for its music also, the Chicago Orchestra furnishing the incidental music for the masque, the songs in which were set to music by Mr. Frederick Stock, its accomplished leader. This masque has been given a number of times since and at many places, including the Chicago Art Institute and the University of Illinois, with the students there filling the cast.

This was followed during the winter of 1909 by 'The Topaz Amulet' by the same hands, which had a masque scene, and thereafter Mr. Stevens in collaboration with the late Kenneth Sawyer Goodman, a native of Chicago, wrote and had produced the brilliant series known as 'Masques of East and West,' which includes 'The Daimio's Head' (1911), 'The Masque of Quetzal's Bowl,' written for the opening of the Cliff Dwellers' rooms in the same year, 'The Masque of Montezuma' (1912), 'Cæsar's Gods' (1913), and 'Rainald and the Red Wolf' (1914), the last three designed to open the annual festival of the students at the Art Institute in Chicago. There is an interesting discussion of the meaning of the word masque by Mr. Stevens and Mr. Percy Mackaye in the volume containing these plays, published by the Stage Guild in Chicago, in which is set forth the essential difference between them and the masques or Grove Plays which have been so long the feature of the annual outing of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco in the Bohemian Redwood Grove; "in their form," Mr. Mackaye says, "the masques of California tend to verge upon the domain of opera; the masques of Chicago tend to become plays," and goes on to define a masque as "an actable poem adapted to special place and occasion," which is also applicable to the earlier English masques. Mr. Stevens quotes a more familiar definition which says, "Masque is to the play as bas relief is to sculpture in the round," and himself prescribes a formula which reads "dramatic entertainments written for festal occasions, and ending with dancing," which the present writer would modify to include dancing in the masque itself.

Perhaps the essential difference between masque and pageant can be succinctly set forth with the statement that the emphasis of the pageant is upon the play and the procession, the emphasis of the masque upon the poem and the dance. Yet there is no exclusion in the idea of either, as has been shown; there may be dancing in the pageant, processions in the masque, music and songs, stage lighting and decoration in both.

Mr. Stevens has gone on to the great artistic triumph involved in his masque, 'The Drawing of the Sword,' perhaps the most inspiring of all the literature produced by citizens of the United

States during the war now triumphantly ended, which was given in many American cities in 1917 and 1918, after its first production at the Carnegie Institute of Technology on June 5, 1917, registration day. Of similar nature is Mr. William Chauncy Langdon's 'The Sword of America,' produced in Urbana and Springfield in 1918. Departing from it in essentials but combining opening and closing masque scenes with three pageant episodes is 'The Wonderful Story of Illinois,' written for the Centennial Commission by Miss Grace Arlington Owen of Bloomington. Here may also be mentioned 'The Masque of Illinois,' perhaps the only attempt recorded to present the continuous history from the beginning of a sovereign State, written for the Centennial Commission and played twice at Springfield and once at Vandalia, in 1918, and 'The Masque of Illinois Wars,' written for the Centennial celebration at Chicago in October, 1918, and with its three extended scenes, songs, dances, and stage effects, the most ambitious masque yet projected in the United States.

In closing, something might be said of the dangers attendant upon the writing and production of masques and pageants. If the history of any city, community, or state is so lacking in incident as to require the inclusion of material common to all the world, it is in order, perhaps, to make such an inclusion. But in the West, at least, there is so much that is interesting and romantic, Indian, French, Spanish, British, that it would seem as if both poetic and dramatic inspiration might readily flow from such sources, and even that a strict limitation to episodes falling within the boundaries of a single place would still leave the writer with sufficient material and all of it locally pertinent. Yet Kansas has produced a pageant-masque which included the Glacial Epoch and excluded its first European discoverer, though he bore the name of Francisco de Coronado. Nothing could be better than the revival of old dances or the composition of new and symbolic ones for local celebrations, but a dancing festival made up of any dances that can be pressed into service is neither a masque or a pageant, but an exhibition of stock dances with no possible local application and without historical value—even without æsthetic value unless the dancing is better than ordinary and used with

the strictest economy and always with a definite end in view. And so of local talent in general without a close and immediate contact with the event to be celebrated the danger is that it is only too likely to degenerate into much such a concoction as the prudent housewife worriedly puts forth when taken unawares and forced to use what she has in the house. There should be the prime concept throughout the celebration of unity, of a fixed trend toward a certain goal, and the bringing into the modern mind of the ideas and events by which the present state of well being has been reached.

Finally let it be pointed out that when the hundred or more aspirants for honors in masque and pageant writing and designing make their application every year to the Dramatic School of the Carnegie Institute of Technology at Pittsburg, its head, Mr. Thomas Wood Stevens, here shown to be the most distinguished writer of both masques and pageants the United States of America has produced, has one invariable reply: "We offer you a four years' course in everything relating to the drama and its production on the stage. The masque and pageant are departments, and those not of the first importance, in this wide field. If you wish to learn how to write and produce anything, large or small, within this field, our theoretical studies and practical productions will fit you for this, if you have the necessary personal equipment. To offer you less would be to leave you ignorant; for you to take less would leave you to impose upon a long-suffering public."

LETTER SENT BY THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION TO
COUNTY OFFICERS URGING THE ORGANIZATION
OF COUNTY CENTENNIAL ASSOCIATIONS

June 16, 1916.

Dear Sir:

The Illinois Centennial Commission is desirous of having adequately celebrated in your county in 1918, the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the Federal Union.

To this end, a committee of five, consisting of the County Judge, County Clerk, State's Attorney, County Superintendent

of Schools and the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors or County Commissioners of each county has been constituted by the Commission as a committee authorized to issue a call to be published in all the papers of the county inviting the people to meet at a certain convenient time and place, probably the court house, to form a County Centennial Association to prepare for the proper celebration of the Centennial in your county. A copy of this letter has been sent to each of the above mentioned officials.

It is suggested that the call for the public meeting in your county be issued during June or the first half of July of this year in order that the work may be organized before the summer vacation begins.

Beginning in September, active work of all your committees should commence. It is not too early to begin at once, for the months will soon slip away. The responsibility of inaugurating a movement in your county for the proper celebration of this great event will rest upon the committee of five county officials of which you are one. The Centennial Commission feels confident that you will wish to see your county observe this occasion as appropriately as will be done in the other counties of the State.

The celebration of the Centennial will offer a most excellent opportunity to stimulate in all of the people of the State an interest in the story of Illinois—its history, its development, its achievement, and its future.

The Centennial Commission suggests that a general committee be formed from representatives of the following various organizations of the county and from this general committee an executive committee may be constituted to have charge of the detailed work:

The executive officers of cities, villages and incorporated towns in the county.

All civic, commercial and agricultural associations and boards.

Historic, patriotic and fraternal societies, including women's organizations.

Schools and colleges, both public and private.

Churches and religious organizations.

The Centennial Commission is preparing a booklet setting forth the general plans of the Commission and offering some definite suggestions for the local celebrations throughout the State. A supply of these booklets will be sent you as soon as they are published.

If it is the desire of the County Committee when your public meeting is called that a representative of the Illinois Centennial Commission shall be present and deliver an address setting forth the object of the meeting, you may obtain such a one without expense to you, by corresponding with the Rev. Royal W. Ennis, Chairman State-wide Celebration Committee, Hillsboro, Illinois.

The Centennial Commission requests that you notify it through its Secretary as to the date upon which your Committee has called its first general meeting.

Very truly yours,

OTTO L. SCHMIDT,

Chairman.

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,

Secretary.

HAIL, ILLINOIS*

BY WALLACE RICE

By the Flag that's floating o'er us,
By our fathers' fame before us,
Raise your voices in the chorus,
Hail Illinois.

Chorus:

Hail, Illinois!
Hail, Illinois!
Thine the story,
God's the glory:
Hail, Illinois!

By the mem'ries that attend her:
Grant, the Union's bold defender;
Loyal Douglas; Lincoln's splendor;
Hail Illinois.

By her hundred years of honor—
Who in all the world outshone her?
Wreathed like laurel bright upon her,
Hail Illinois.

By the fields her sons left gory,
Make her past her future story,
On and on to greater glory
Hail Illinois.

* To be sung to the old air of "The Little Black Bull." Note that in the stanzas the audience is being appealed to to hail Illinois, and in the chorus the audience is hailing her; in other words, Illinois is in the third person in the verse part, in the second person in the chorus.

THE CENTENNIAL BANNER

The Illinois Centennial Commission asked the General Assembly to authorize for the Centennial observance the use of a special and distinctive banner or flag to be used to advertise the Centennial and for other publicity purposes. Several designs were submitted to the Commission. The one selected was that of Mr. Wallace Rice, pageant writer for the Commission. It is a beautiful banner which lends itself remarkably well to all schemes of decoration. It was used extensively throughout the State and was a marked feature of all the Centennial celebrations.

It is described in the Act of the General Assembly authorizing its use as the Centennial banner or flag.

The banner has blue and white stripes as described in the Act, has twenty-one blue stars on the white stripes of the flag. The State of Illinois was the twenty-first State to be admitted to the American Union. The ten stars in the upper of the white stripes represent the ten northern states which were a part of the Union before Illinois was admitted and the ten stars on the lower of the white stripes represent the ten southern states which were members of the American Union when Illinois became a State. The twenty-first star which is larger in size represents "Illinois", the twenty-first State to become a part of the American Union of States, the United States of America.

FLAGS

ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION OFFICIAL STATE
BANNER OR FLAG

§ 1. Official State Banner or Flag Authorized.

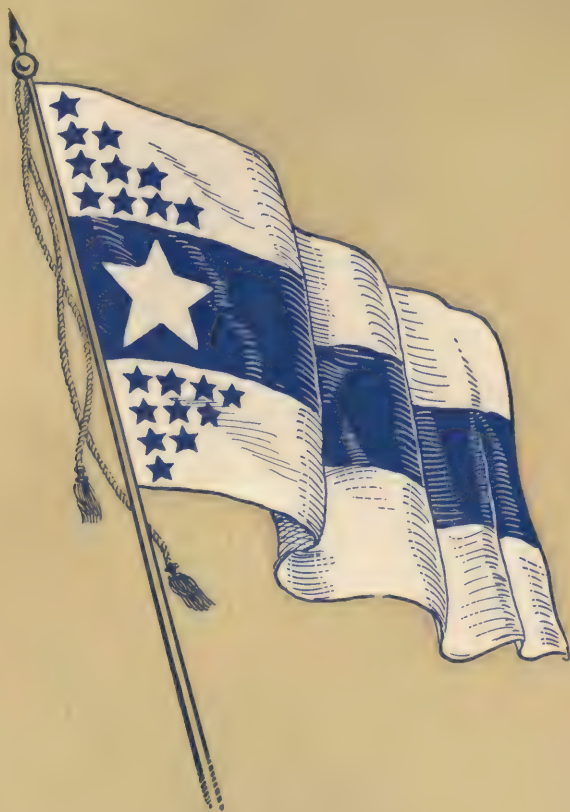
§ 2. Design.

§ 3. Official Centennial Flag.

(HOUSE BILL NO. 680. Approved June 25, 1917.)

AN ACT Authorizing the Illinois Centennial Commission to have an official State Banner or Flag.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That the Illinois Centennial Commission be and is hereby authorized and permitted to have and to use a State banner or flag commemorating the Cen-



CENTENNIAL BANNER

ennial anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Federal Union, subject to the restrictions provided by the laws of the United States and of the State of Illinois as to the United States flag or ensign, the design for which banner or flag had been approved by said Commission and is as herein described.

2. Said banner or pennant shall consist of three horizontal stripes in proper proportion as to length and width, the upper and the lower stripes being white in color and the middle stripe national blue in color, said stripes being of such dimensions that they will appear of equal width. At the staff end of the flag or emblem there shall be ten stars, blue in color in the upper white stripe, and ten stars, blue in color in the lower white stripe, each group of said ten stars being arranged in four rows as follows: Four blue stars in the first row near the staff end of the flag or emblem, three blue stars in the second row, two blue stars in the third row, and one blue star in the fourth or last row, in such a manner that four of said blue stars in each white stripe shall face the staff end and four of said blue stars shall also face the middle or blue stripe. In the center blue stripe, near the staff end of said blue stripe, and in a proper relative position between the two star fields on the two white stripes, there shall be one single white star of a larger size than the stars on the white stripes representing Illinois, the twenty-first State admitted to the Union.

3. The Illinois Centennial banner or flag as described in this Act shall be the official Centennial flag or pennant used in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the Federal Union.

APPROVED June 25, 1917.

THE CENTENNIAL POSTER

As one of the special features of its publicity work, the Illinois Centennial Commission decided to offer a prize for a design for a poster which would in this form suggest the great history of the State, during its first Century of Statehood.

The Commission hoped that a design might be secured which would, in an artistic and striking way, bring before the people the

beginnings, growth and present high position of the State during the Century from 1818 to 1918.

The Committee on Publicity, of which Rev. Frederic Siedenburg was chairman, arranged for a competition among the poster artists of the United States, and sent out letters to many persons whom it was supposed might be interested, and advertisements of the contest were printed in art magazines and periodicals, and notices of it posted in several art schools and institutes. The response was quite general and a large number of designs were submitted, many of them of merit. The design selected as deserving of the first prize by the committee, Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, chairman of the Committee on Publicity of the Centennial Commission, Mr. Ralph Clarkson, the noted portrait painter, and a member of the State Art Commission, and Mr. Martin Roche, a distinguished architect also a member of the State Art Commission, was that submitted by Mr. Willy G. Sesser of New York, and may be described as follows:

A Pioneer with flint-lock musket. Kneels in reverence to the United States Flag. The present State House of Illinois is in background showing the progress of the century. Above the head of the pioneer appear the dates "1818-1918" and twenty stars, representing the twenty states admitted before Illinois. On a line below in the center, the new star, Illinois, appears. Below the figure the words—

"Not without thy wondrous story
Can be writ the Nation's glory,
ILLINOIS."

The background of the poster is blue.

Sixty-eight designs were submitted. These designs came from all parts of the United States. Five designs were accepted and prizes awarded.

The first prize design, that of Mr. Sesser above described, reproduced in its original colors and in various sizes, was used largely in advertising the Centennial observances.

Thousands of these reproductions were distributed throughout the State.

1818 · CENTENNIAL · 1918



Not without thy wondrous story,
Can be writ the Nation's glory.

ILLINOIS

ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL POSTER

The five original posters are now hanging in the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield.

Copies of the letters sent out by the Secretary of the Centennial Commission in relation to the Poster Contest are hereby given:

PRELIMINARY LETTER

1818—1918

ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

*On January
Twelfth,
Nineteen Seventeen.*

DEAR SIRs:

The Illinois Centennial Commission desires to call your attention to a competitive contest for a poster design to commemorate the One-hundredth Anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the Federal Union in 1918. The designs must be of one sheet, i. e., 28" x 42" in size.

A prize of one hundred dollars shall be given to each of the best five designs and five hundred dollars extra to the best of these.

The award is to be made by a committee of three selected by the Illinois Centennial Commission in consultation with the State Art Commission.

The competition is open to all and the Commission reserves the right to reject all designs. Posters are to be submitted to the undersigned not later than April 15, 1917.

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary of the Commission.

CONDITIONS OF THE CONTEST

ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL POSTER CONTEST

The Illinois Centennial Commission desires a poster which will symbolize or portray the growth of Illinois from a pioneer

State at the time of its admission into the Union in 1818 to its present proud position in the sisterhood of states.

The Commission wishes the artist to have the widest range in his conception, and hence imposes no limitations upon his creative skill.

While it seems unlikely that a satisfactory design could be conceived which does not contain the word "Illinois" and the dates 1818 and 1918, the Commission does not stipulate that these shall appear in the design.

The occasion calls for a poster conveying in terms of idea, line and color, some suggestion of three principal ideas, an anniversary, a celebration, and Illinois. The ideal design would convey an unmistakable and forceful impression of the three ideas.

The design must be of one sheet, i. e., 28" x 42". The color scheme is not to exceed four color process work. A white margin of two inches in width all around is suggested but is not stipulated. The design must be suitable for reproduction in sizes from that of the original sheet, i. e., 28" x 42", down to a poster stamp.

A prize of one hundred dollars will be given to each of the best five designs submitted, and five hundred dollars additional will be given the best one of the five.

The award is to be made by a committee of three selected by the Illinois Centennial Commission in consultation with the State Art Commission.

The originals for the designs selected as the best five and for which prizes are awarded, become the property of the Illinois Centennial Commission.

No name, word or mark other than that which is a part of the design may appear on the face of the poster, and no name, word or mark may appear upon the border.

All originals must be executed in accordance with these rules.

All originals must be carefully packed and delivered to an express office or postoffice, with all charges prepaid, and addressed to Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary, Illinois Centennial Commission, Poster Contest, Springfield, Illinois.

Each original design must bear on the back an identifying symbol or word. This identifying symbol or word must be re-

peated on the outside of a sealed envelope, enclosed with its corresponding design. This sealed envelope shall contain:

1. The name and address of the competitor.
2. Postage sufficient to pay the return charges if the return of the design is desired.

This sealed envelope shall not be opened until after all awards have been made.

Upon the back of the design, the only name, word or mark permitted is the identifying symbol or word. It being understood that the artist's name or address may not appear anywhere except within the sealed envelope. Any design submitted which violates these rules will in justice to other competitors be rejected.

The Commission has arranged for a public exhibition of the designs in the rooms of the Springfield Art Association, and other exhibitions may be held. For the purpose of these exhibitions and for the sake of uniformity, the Commission requests the participants to use a heavy weight illustrating board. In case the artist prefers to work on other material, it is suggested that he have the drawing mounted on heavy weight board.

To avoid warping of the drawings, all contestants are requested to have the drawing board backed up by a sheet of tough paper, which will keep the design submitted entirely flat.

The Commission reserves the right to retain all the originals entered in the competition until a date not later than January 1, 1918.

This reservation is made to permit the widest possible exhibition of the designs.

The competition is open to all and the Commission reserves the right to reject all designs.

The designs submitted in competition are to be sent to the undersigned not later than April 15, 1917.

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
*Secretary, Illinois Centennial Commission,
Springfield, Illinois.*

ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL POSTER CONTEST

(SUPPLEMENTARY LETTER)

In the rules for a poster contest sent out by the Illinois Centennial Commission some interested persons have thought that the stipulation as to color scheme is not clear.

The sentence in question reads as follows: "The color scheme is limited to four color process work," which means that four color process work is the maximum of colors to be allowed. It would have been clearer and more easily understood if the rule for the color scheme had said, "The color scheme is not to exceed four color process work." This, of course, does not mean that a design employing fewer colors will not be considered.

The Commission has been informed that heavy weight illustrating board is not easily obtained in the size stipulated for the design, i. e., 28" x 42". The Commission therefore suggests that as illustrating board may be obtained of a size 30" x 40", which is a stock size, and as this size represents the same actual surface, it is allowed and suggested that a sheet of this latter size (30" x 40") be used.

All designs must be sent to the Secretary of the Commission.

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary, Illinois Centennial Commission,
Springfield, Illinois.

PRIZES AWARDED

Springfield,
Illinois,
May 29, 1917.

DEAR SIR:

I beg to say that your design for the Illinois Centennial Poster was received and placed in the competition.

The jury which made the award were: Mr. Martin Roche, and Mr. Ralph Clarkson, both members of the Illinois State Art Commission, and Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, of the Illinois Centennial Commission.

The prizes were awarded as follows: first, Mr. Willy G. Sesser, 33 West Forty-second Street, New York City; second, Mr. R. Fairweather Babcock, 1320 Republic Building, Chicago, Illinois; third, Mr. John A. Bazant, 991 Jackson Avenue, Bronx, New York; fourth, Miss Hazel Brown, Chicago Academy Fine Arts, 81 East Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois; fifth, Mr. Charles Ryan, Chicago Academy Fine Arts, 81 East Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

There were sixty-eight designs submitted. The designs were exhibited at the Springfield Art Association until May 14, 1917, and are now on exhibition in the Department of Art and Design at the University of Illinois, Urbana.

You will no doubt recall that the Illinois Centennial Commission in the rules for the poster competition reserved the right to retain all designs until January 1, 1918, for exhibition purposes.

Very truly yours,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary, Illinois Centennial Commission.

PROGRAM

—OF—

THE MASQUE OF ILLINOIS

PRESENTED BY

THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

August Twenty-sixth

Nineteen Hundred and Eighteen

Eight-Fifteen P. M.

Coliseum

Illinois State Fair Grounds

Springfield

THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

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Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, *Secretary*, Springfield

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Edmund J. James, Urbana

John J. Brown, Vandalia

George Pasfield, Jr., Springfield

John W. Bunn, Springfield
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 Leon A. Colp, Marion
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Sangamon County
Centennial Celebration Committee

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 Wm. H. Conkling, *Secretary*

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Mrs. V. Y. Dallman	R. C. Lanphier
James M. Graham	Mrs. George T. Palmer
Logan Hay	J. Frank Prather

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Dr. C. A. Frazee	Miss Elberta Smith
Ira B. Blackstock	J. F. Macpherson
Major Bluford Wilson	Harry W. Nickey
Logan Hay	Harlington Wood
Chas. T. Baumann	H. O. McGrue
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R. E. Woodmansee	Col. R. J. Shand
A. D. Stevens	Hugh S. Magill
Mrs. Porter Paddock	Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber

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Mrs. P. B. Warren, <i>Chairman</i>	Mrs. V. Y. Dallman, <i>Vice Chairman</i>
Miss Theresa G. Gorman, <i>Secretary</i>	
R. Albert Guest	I. M. Allen

Costume Committee

Mrs. Robert C. Lanphier	Mrs. Logan Hay
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Program Committee

Robert W. Troxell

"THE MASQUE OF ILLINOIS"

WALLACE RICE, Author

Music by EDWARD C. MOORE

PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
FREDERICK BRUEGGER, Pageant Master
ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

MUSICAL DIRECTOR

MRS. FREDERICK BRUEGGER

ART DIRECTOR

MR. RUSSELL ABDILL

Dances Arranged by
MRS. HAZEL H. MOORE

Director of Dances
MISS LUCY BATES

ARGUMENT

EARLIER ILLINOIS

PART I.

"The Masque of Illinois" is an attempt to interpret symbolically the 245 years (1673-1918) of the history of the Illinois Country. It is, therefore, itself a closely written synopsis, no event having influence upon the development of the State being omitted.

Illinois is first shown surrounded by her Prairies, Rivers, Forests, and Flowers, which may be taken as standing for our natural resources. Upon this primitive and idyllic peace Fear intrudes, followed by a band of Indians, who dance a war and squaw dance. They are frightened away by the coming of the French (1673). Joliet, LaSalle, and Tonty are shown as symbolizing certain of the gifts the French brought to us, religion being indicated by the procession following of the first missionaries with their Indian converts, and gayety by the dance, interrupted by the coming of the British (1765), who fly their flag in the place of the French lilies, and bring in their train Tyranny, for an irresponsible military government, and Hate, from having armed the Indians against the settlers. The British are routed in turn by the Virginian frontiersmen (1778), in alliance with France. They sing "The Virginian Song," and introduce Virginia, our first American ruler, who calls in Columbia, in reference to the cession of the Illinois Country to the Nation (1787). With Columbia come Liberty, Love, and Justice, for whom a hymn is sung, and the first scene concludes with the placing of the crown of statehood upon the brow of Illinois, the company singing "Fair Illinois."

ILLINOIS STATEHOOD

PART II.

The Centennial hymn, "Our Illinois," is sung at the opening of the second scene. Illinois reappears, resisting the advances of Slavery (1823). Lafayette's visit (1825) is portrayed.

The Blackhawk War (1832) is shown by another war dance, followed by the exile from the State of the Indians (1833). The building of canals and railways is symbolized by the Rivers and Forests. Illinois rejects the bribe of Repudiation (1842-4), and of Polygamy, with the expulsion of the Mormons (1846). In a vision Illinois commemorates the gallantry of our soldiers in the Mexican War (1846-7). The Illinois Colleges founded before 1861 celebrate themselves in a march. Illinois mourns with pride the soldiers of the Civil War (1861-5), with an Alleluia for all who die in freedom's cause. The Chicago Fire (1871) is indicated, and the World's Columbian Exposition (1893) follows with a procession of the Nations. Following this comes Belgium in the grip of Tyranny, France with Fear, and England with Hate, this episode concluding when the three Evil Brethren carry Belgium forcibly away. Columbia re-enters, with Love, Liberty, and Justice, to whom the nations kneel. Columbia declares war, our soldiers and sailors enter. Illinois prays for victory. All sing the Star Spangled Banner, and the Masque is done.

PRINCIPALS FOR "MASQUE OF ILLINOIS"

(In order of appearance)

Trumpeter.....	Mildred M. Shand
Trumpeter.....	Ida E. Shand
Prologue.....	General Frank S. Dickson
Illinois.....	Florence Lowden
Fear.....	Elmer E. Bradley
Indian Chief.....	Burke Vancil
French Officer.....	C. J. Doyle
Joliet.....	Paul S. Kingsbury
LaSalle.....	Harry Luehrs
Tonty.....	J. R. Leib
Marquette.....	Hugh Graham
Hennepin.....	Edmund Burke
Membre.....	Paul Burns
Ribourde.....	T. J. Condon
1673 Maiden.....	Eleanor Robinson
British Officer.....	Harry Smith
Tyranny.....	George W. Kenney
Hate.....	Charles Hudson

*The
Illinois
Company*

Trees

Marie E. Farlow
Loretta Downey
Katherine N. Hartmann
Marie Fitch
Patsey Smith
Alice Condon
Kathleen I. Gallagher
Mary C. Jepson
Helen M. Rogers
Genevieve E. Griffin

British Soldier.....T. J. Sullivan
 Frontiersman.....W. F. Workman
 Virginia.....Elizabeth B. Metcalf
 Columbia.....Christine Brown
 Liberty.....Elizabeth Keays
 Justice.....Mary Douglas Hay
 Love.....Edith Carroll
 Crown Bearer.....Mary Jane Meredith
 First Page.....Lorna Doone Williamson
 Second Page....Virginia Dare Williamson
 1823 Maiden.....Della Kikendall
 Slavery.....Henry Lyman Child
 Lafayette.....Herbert W. George
 Indian Chief's Daughter...Mrs. Barr Brown
 Repudiation.....Hugh Graham
 1840 Maiden.....Helen Griffiths
 Polygamy.....H. M. Solenberger
 1861 Maiden.....Louise Hickox
 Fire Dance.....Lucy Bates
 1871 Maiden.....Gladys Troxell
 Chicago.....Mrs. John Prince
 1893 Maiden.....Charlotte Pasfield
 One in Black.....Mrs. H. L. Patton
 Belgium.....Mrs. John W. Black
 France.....Mrs. Wm. L. Patton
 England.....Mary Colgan
 Scotland.....Mrs. Beralla Southwick
 Ireland.....LeReine McGowan
 Canada.....Mary Shaftid
 1914 Maiden.....Hildred Hatcher
 Red Cross.....Muriel Stratham

Flowers

Ida I. Brown
 Katherine L. McGinley
 Frances Daigh
 Helen Ruth Daigh
 Genevieve Tolan
 Elizabeth Troesch
 Dorothy E. O'Brien
 Margaret S. Yoggerst
 Marie T. Hallinan
 Katherine Morris
 Katherine Friedmeyer
 Helen Goodell

Rivers

Anna H. Foutch
 Dorothy M. Osborne
 Edith E. Edwards
 Mary A. England
 Anne L. Manning
 Ursula A. White
 M. Frances Barnes
 Marie I. Schou
 Margery LaRose
 Helen Chandler

Prairies

Mary A. Manning
 Jennie B. Otto
 Ella B. Keely
 Margaret A. Keely
 Jane Fixmer
 Alice Gorman
 Virginia S. Osborne
 Anna Shaughnessy
 Marie Casey

Illinois Groups Boy Scouts

FRED HAHN, Scout Master

Charles Grahm
 Charles Birdges
 Marshal McNeer
 Allen Bergman
 Frank Stowars

Harold Actom
 Lorence Kunz
 Frank Grebe
 John Greleski
 Slanty Wise

Dwight Trumbell
 Richard New
 Stuart Refler
 Will News
 Robert Scarf

Indian Braves

Burke Vancil
 Fred Brooks
 Edwin A. Coe
 E. W. Wright
 V. A. Campbell
 Warren Lewis
 Dr. Scott Walters
 H. D. Agee
 E. M. Shanklin

C. R. Constant
 D. T. Queen
 J. A. Morton
 Ollie Addleman
 Dare I. Martin
 Geo. Hamilton
 B. B. Nuckels
 Arthur Bridge

J. F. Connelly
 Paul Harmes
 Fred Harmes
 Sam Christopher
 W. A. Lester
 Harry Converse
 Samuel Eckel
 Albert C. Converse

Indian Maidens

Hattie Nelson
Jeannette Rowan
Ethel Thompson
Bessie Crafton

Lillibelle Troth
Gertrude Hall
Ellen Broadbuss
Ida Johnson

Lucille Montgomery
Alice McCune
Ethel McCune
Lucille Finn

French Soldiers

Harry W. Nickey
A. F. Shepherd
L. C. Canham
Dr. A. W. Barker

Wm. Diefenthaler
J. M. Pollard
Bud Barber

William J. Aurelius
Harry Watson
Rice J. Moore

Children of Illinois

Geo. Edward Coe
Geo. French
Stanley Myers
Billy Meter
Hugh Graham
James Graham
Billy Lou Jayne
Sim Fernandes
Leon Lambert
Daniel O'Connell
James Edw. Mueller
Maurice Holahan
Street Dickerman
James Jones
Bob Patton
Chas. Lanphier

Chas. Dawson
Halbert Crews
Marshall Myers
Nona Walgren
Helen Bair
Ruth Myers
Elizabeth French
Mercedes Mueller
Mary Meredith
Mary Linn Culp
Esther McAnulty
Mary Jane Hatcher
Betty Dallman
Mary Ann Burnett
Alice Burke
Martha McCann

Mary Graham
Eleanor Ballou
Louise McCarthy
Margaret E. Jayne
Catherine Graham
Clara Graham
Catherine Murphy
Elizabeth Murphy
Loretta Bea
Lorene McGrath
Virginia S. Osborne
Mary Evans
Ninna Staley
Helen Fogarty
Nancy Jane Mackie
Mary Fogarty

*Virginia Reel**Soloists*

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE, and MR. R. A. GUEST

*The Dancers**Spirit of Fire—LUCY BATES*

Edward S. Boyd
Gerald Edwin Margrave
W. R. Flint
O. G. Miller
A. C. Margrave
Harry J. Haynes
E. B. Harris
William L. Blucke

William D. McKinney
G. C. Rockwell
George Cresse
Master Raymond L.
Boyd
Mrs. W. R. Flint
Mrs. O. G. Miller
Mrs. A. C. Margrave

Mrs. Harry J. Haynes
Mrs. George Cresse
Mrs. William D. McKinney
Mrs. G. C. Rockwell
Mrs. George W. Kenney
Mrs. E. C. Haas
Miss Elva Boyd
Miss Margaret M. Reid

Fire Sprites

Martha Bliss
Jeanette Salzenstein

Bettie Gullett
Phoebe Coe

Katherine Murray
Rose Alice Coe

Water Sprites

Mary Stuart
Dorothy Bair
Lucille Perry
Dorothy Dickson

Frances Corson
Dorothy Sullivan
Jeannette Smith

Margaret Howey
Katherine White
Dorothy Coe

MOURNERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

ISAAC GUEST, *Soloist*

Guard of Honor, Members Stephenson Post No. 30, G. A. R.

H. H. BIGGS, *Commander*
R. H. CORSON, *Vice-Commander*

R. W. Ewing
E. P. Bartlett
J. B. Inman
Wash Irwin
J. S. Thompson
E. S. Johnson
W. F. McCoy

H. B. Davidson
Chas. Schuppel
W. H. Sammons
Chas. Sammons
Chas. Elkin
M. Cotton
I. Guest

J. S. Felter
John Dilks
John Fagan
J. M. Stevenson
Thomas Wright
W. H. Newlin

French Woodrunners

George A. Fish
Samuel Barker
James Riley
A. D. Burbank

Ted Weites
O. F. Davenport
J. E. Schwarzott

J. S. Crugar
L. J. Wylie
M. B. Hoagland

French Company

Lee Day
Topsy Smith
Doris Babcock
Dorothy Johnston
Jennie Barnes
Marian Ables
Leonora Patton
Alice Hay

Jean Seip
Margaret Potter
Caroline Dorwin
Frances Easley
Mary McRoberts
Marian Matheny
Frances Fetzner
Dorothy Runyan

Alice Warren
Martha Wiggins
Claribel Baker
Anna Armstrong
Converse Staley
Robert Risse
Herman Helmle
Joe Lynd

Vexilla Regis Chorus

Under the direction of MISS BESSIE HANRATTY

Mrs. J. W. Hington
Mrs. Cummings
Mrs. Laura Nichols
Mrs. Helen Wimberg
Mrs. Oliver Davenport
Mrs. Brownback
Mrs. Marie Powell
Sue Boyle
Mary Barry
Ollie Kennedy
Anna Hogan
Anna Nally
Bertha Swan
Jessie Smith
Gertrude White
Josephine Yoggerst
Mrs. W. D Stewart
Theresa Eglin
Lorraine Eglin
Mrs. Emma Jones
Mrs. Alma Bermister
Mrs. Mae Higgins
Mrs. Nettle Ramey
Mary Buoy
Emily Buoy
Margaret Buoy
Theresa Reynolds
Bessie Higgins
Elizabeth Donelan
Marie Mulcahy
Mrs. Kate Pfund
Mrs. Mamie Stevens
Mary Agnes Doyle
Katharine Quinn
Rose Farral
Nan Doyle

Margaret Mulcahy
Marie Koenig
Louise M. Desch
Mrs. Viola E. Holliday
Mary Delmore
Katherine Luby
Nelle Markey
Augusta Fahey
Marie Stratham
Margaret Dolan
Mrs. Theresa O'Reilly
Angela Fisher
Agnes Mischler
Mary Shaughnessy
Kathryn Burke
Mary Butterly
Mrs. J. Murphy
Alica Lawler
Jane Young
Emma Groesch
Christine Layendecker
Catherine Gorman
Margaret Dolan
Edna Groesch
Margaret Nollen
Gertrude Staab
Irene Foster
Nelle Gaffigan
Margaret Gaffigan
Mary Gaffigan
Statia Doyle
None O'Donnell
Elizabeth O'Brien
Margaret O'Brien
Cecil True

Ruth True
Grace Morgan
Helen Gaffigan
Margaret McGurk
Mrs. John Kohlbecker
Mrs. Jerry Sexton
Miss Theresa Wochner
Mrs. Walter Ryan
Thos Reynolds
Thos. Yoggerst
John Boyle
Henry Hickey
Wm. J. Fogarty
Jas. Murphy
Gus Link
John Kuhlman
Ed. Dolan
C. N. Groesch
Jacob Layendecker
Earl Kane
J. B. Bird
John Fix
Chas. Metzger
Sigmund Rechner
H. Rabenstein
Will Foster
Jas. Knox
Isabella Fogarty
Margaret Ryan
Margaret Laurer
Marie Eglin
May Doyle
Anna Lawless
Lucy Kelly
Katharine Kelly

British Soldiers

Harry L. Smith
Edward F. Irwin
E. L. Haas
G. E. Dobson

Geo. D. Parkin
D. M. Tilson
Arthur Lehne
C. A. Gauker

C. W. Vail
Fred C. Kincaid
Walter Bachelder

Bordermen

Harry C. Page
J. F. Baker
George J. Tunney
S. E. Moore
A. D. Fash
C. H. Pickett
Lee Kincaid

J. A. Bryden
Miles A. Leach
R. E. James
Will L. Connor
W. B. Jose
Frank T. Keisecker
W. S. Hurd

Carl Congdon
Barney Oldfield
E. L. Mayhew
Griffith George
A. L. Whittenberg
Clarence Jones

Continental Soldiers

Dr. John A. Wheeler
George H. Faxon
Edward Anderson
C. H. Jenkins
A. B. Simonson
Sam Metcalf
Leigh Call

Chas. T. Bisch
Russell James
H. A. McElvain
A. R. Abels
Ray Christopher
A. A. Hart
F. A. Land

F. O. Lorton
W. D. Mottar
Wallie Fleming
J. M. Tucker
C. C. Bradley
Chas. Price

ILLINOIS COLLEGES FOUNDED PREVIOUS TO THE CIVIL WAR

Illinois
McKendree
Shurtleff
Monticello
Knox
Lombard
Rockford
Illinois Woman's College
Blackburn
Hedding
Eureka

Wheaton
Northwestern
Augustana
Chaddock
Concordia
Northwestern University
Monmouth
Lake Forest
Wesleyan
Chicago University
State Normal

THE COLLEGE GROUP TRINITY CHORUS CHOIR

Officers of Chorus

R. SCHOKNECHT *Director*

F. DIESING, *Accompanist*

A. MAURER, *Treasurer*

Assistants to Treasurer—FRANK GROTH, LOUIS KOOPMAN, ANNA DURHEIM,
MARGARET BEHRENS

*Members**Sopranos*

Dorothy Adams
Nellie Baker
Selma Behrens
Elizabeth Bettinghaus
Anna Busch
Minnie Durheim
Clara Engelder
Carrie Feuerbacher
Margaret Goering
Charlotte Friedmeyer
Catherine Friedmeyer
Charlotte Herzer
Alme Koopman
Lucy Lauterbach
Helen Link
Edna Link
Hilda Libka

Martha Maurer
Ethel Melcher
Helen Meyer
Johannah Ostermeier
Marie Profrock
Minnie Reiss
Louise Reiss
Edna Richards
Elizabeth Richards
Elsie Roberts
Anna Ruschke
Anna Pisivoske
Marie Sack
Lydia Sieving
Tena Sommer
Margaret Sommer
Margaret Spitznagle

Ruth Streckfuss
Elizabeth Sturm
Katherine Sturm
Alma Sturm
Lillie Tarr
Delphine Thiele
Julia Vogt
Katherine Van Horn
Dorothy Van Horn
Marie Zoellner
Marie Westerman
Gladys Ostermeier
Anna Durheim
Louise Hoffman
Margaret Herzer
Florence Lauterbach
Hedwig Streckfuss

Altos

Alice Baker
Hildegard Behrens
Margaret Behrens
Ruth Biedermann
Anna Brand
Hilda Brand
Caroliné Bretcher

Hilda Brodhagen
Mayme Grannemann
Olga Groth
Gola Goebel
Alma Hoffman
Bertha Ostermeier
Charlotte Ostermeier

Minnie O. Durheim
Gustave Pahnke
Anna Sack
Julia Siebert
Hilma Volle
Minnie Yaack
Kenneth Schnepf

Tenors

Herman Sack
Cecil Ostermeier
Fred Gaede
Robert Gaudlitz
Louis Groth

Louis Koopman
Fred Schmidt
T. Steinke
Edward Tarr
Walter Meyer

Fred Ostermeier
Wilbur Fargo
Godfrey Adams
Walter Balzerick
Carl Malinske

Basses

George Bettinghaus
Leo Brown
Gus Bretcher
O. H. Bade

Albert Durheim
Frank Groth
William Profrock
Wm. H. Schnepf

Robert C. Runge
Adolph Maurer
Carl Ostermeier
E. Klingbell

ILLINOIS RESERVE MILITIA

Major—FRANK R. SIMMONS, 1st Battalion, 5th Regiment
Co. D, 5th Regiment

Captain.....B. F. Bliss
1st Lieutenant.....Wm. H. McLain
2nd Lieutenant.....Harry E. Stout
65 Members

Major—HAL M. SMITH, 1st Battalion, 7th Regiment
Co. A, 7th Regiment

Captain.....Evans E. Cantrall
1st Lieutenant.....James A. Jones
2d Lieutenant.....Robert W. Troxell
65 Members

Company B, 7th Regiment

Captain.....Lauren W. Coe
1st Lieutenant.....Jesse K. Peyton
2nd Lieutenant.....Henry L. Patton
65 Members

France

J. D. Shaffer
Henry Offer
L. L. Bacchus
Dr. E. S. Spindel

W. Sidney Grundy
G. H. Thoma
G. W. Solomon
E. G. George

Curtis E. Lawrence
Dr. A. N. Owens
G. V. Helmle

Scotland

Henry R. Marshall
Robert Curry
Thomas English
Alexander Miller

Geo. D. Meredith
Martin Bolt
John Marland

W. H. Bruce
Fred Wanless
Walter J. Horn

Ireland

Thomas Strong
J. H. Ferreira
Walter Stehman
Romie Fields

T. Turley
Mrs. Rosetta Ferreira
Sophia Stehman

Mrs. Hudson
Miss Darrah
Edward Smith

Greece

Harry J. Thornton
W. A. J. Hay
M. D. Morris
Chas. J. Peterson

J. B. Hudson
Dr. S. D. Zaph
Dr. G. E. Maxwell

R. F. Bear
R. O. Augur
Fred Gulick

Belgium

W. H. Conkling
F. M. Legg
L. F. Mansfield
Basil W. Ogg

G. P. Kircher
Henry L. Smith
Rev. E. M. Antrim

H. A. Leidel
Samuel H. Heidler
John Vose, Jr.

Honduras

Louis M. Myers
W. B. Robinson
W. O. Homberg
T. C. Smith

Norman Reinboth
Dr. A. Banks
John L. Scott

J. B. Crane
Henry Bengel
Julius Myers

Siam

Curtis H. Rottger
Harry Johnson
James H. McMillon
F. R. Atwood

E. B. Shinn
A. J. Parsons
O. S. Morse

H. C. Henkes
J. H. Raymond
C. R. Beebe

Siberia

Wm. B. Chittenden
L. J. Pulliam
W. F. Castleman
Clayton Barber

R. O. Fishback
F. O. Gulick
Lester Krick

B. W. Heady
Lester Gott
W. R. Schroeder

Cuba

Wm. M. Jageman
T. M. Bradford
Chas. Springer
A. E. Miller
F. L. Everett

Chas. G. Briggles
Ralph Dickerson
Mrs. T. M. Bradford
Mrs. Chas. Springer
Mrs. L. C. Canham

Miss Evelyn Nelch
Miss Margaret Jageman
Miss Helen Jageman
Miss Edytha Scharer

Panama

Barney Cohen
Pert Bean
Amos Sawyer
Jno. P. Utt

Arthur Neale
Fred Klump
Dr. Francis W.
Shepardson

Elmer Birks
L. W. Shade
Dr. Robert J. Flentje

Guatemala

A. H. Bogardus
E. G. Bogardus
Justice Mellon
C. A. Washburn

T. E. Park
J. A. Miller
C. S. Miller

C. W. Kessler
Frank Kavanaugh
Frank A. Hall

Haiti

Roy T. Jefferson
Norval M. Naylor
J. R. Jones
R. E. Corson

Edwin Rees
Grover W. Yoder
Norman L. Owen

Albert S. Mitchell
Dr. J. C. Walters
R. D. Sharen

Brazil

Randolph B. Gaffney
C. C. Roundtree
A. R. Bidwell
George C. Felter

Dr. J. M. Shearl
H. W. McDavid
W. H. Perkins

D. B. Cannon
Bridge Brooks
Walter Jones

Servia

E. B. Harris
Wm. L. Blucke
Wm. D. McKinney
G. C. Rockwell

Geo. Cresse
Mrs. Geo. Cresse
Mrs. Wm. D. McKinney

Mrs. G. C. Rockwell
Mrs. Geo. W. Kenney
Mrs. El. C. Haas

Montenegro

Edward S. Boyd
Master Raymond L. Boyd
Gerald Edwin Margrave
W. R. Flint
O. G. Miller

A. C. Margrave
Harry J. Haynes
Mrs. Elva Boyd
Miss Margaret M. Reid

Mrs. W. R. Flint
Mrs. O. G. Miller
Mrs. A. C. Margrave
Mrs. Harry J. Haynes

Italy

J. M. Picco
Robert Bunker
Fred Cassell
M. C. Kline

Ira Busher
J. C. Locher
Chas. A. Keck

W. A. Dorr
Eugene Linxweiler
Paul Dobson

San Marino

Louis N. Rolle
Frank Tomlin
T. L. Muscat
D. H. Brown

G. A. Coleman
F. C. Stone
H. J. Spurway

H. H. Clark
J. Maggenti
George Spengler

Roumania

Louis Roberts
Myer Fishman
Leo Cohn
R. C. McLain

N. B. Clark
Norton Barker
Jno. W. Vorhees

J. K. Murdock
Wm. M. Winders
W. T. Fossett

Portugal

Herman J. Rick
Dr. T. J. Kinnear
Donald McDougal
C. Monroe Hill

Dr. Geo. B. Weakley
Edward P. Kelly
Dr. C. M. Mulligan

Harry E. Fletcher
W. P. Weinold
J. A. Foster

Japan

Dr. A. C. Baxter
James M. Gullett
Benjamin Bruce
Timothy E. Britton

H. T. Culp
H. E. Struble
Miss Gladys Marland

Miss LaVerne Marland
Miss Luella Payton
Miss Gladys Parsons

China

Oscar Ansell
A. W. Chapman
Thomas Lawrence
D. O'Keefe

H. B. Hill
F. R. Dickerson
A. D. Sawyer

S. Fernandes
Dr. J. A. Day
E. F. Armbruster

*John A. Hauberg's**Rock Island Fife and Drum Corps*

Color Bearer.....William Louis Jayne
Drummer.....Louis DePron, Jr.

Stage constructed under the direction of Mr. Henry Helmle, architect.

Costumes designed by Mr. Russell Abdill and Miss Lillian Lidman.

Costumes executed by Miss Lillian Lidman and Schmidt Costume and Wig Company.

Assistant Pageant Master—Miss Frances Cook.

Concert Master—Mr. John L. Taylor.

Accompaniste—Mrs. Ethel A. Bliss.

Stage Properties—Mr. I. Franklin Kalb.

Electric Lighting—Mr. Charles A. Meador.

This is a Souvenir Program; Price 10 Cents. Proceeds for Benefit of American Red Cross and Salvation Army.

PROGRAM

—OF—

THE MASQUE OF ILLINOIS

PRESENTED BY

THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

October Fourth and Fifth
 Nineteen Hundred and Eighteen
 Eight-Fifteen P. M.

Coliseum
 Illinois State Fair Grounds
 Springfield

THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

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Ira B. Blackstock

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Miss Theresa G. Gorman, <i>Secretary</i>	
R. Albert Guest	I. M. Allen

Costume Committee

Mrs. Robert C. Lanphier	Mrs. Logan Hay
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Program Committee

Robert W. Troxell

"THE MASQUE OF ILLINOIS"

WALLACE RICE, Author

Music Written and Conducted by EDWARD C. MOORE

PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION
OF THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION,
JESSIE PALMER WEBER, CHAIRMAN
PAGEANT COMMITTEE

FREDERICK BRUEGGER, Pageant Master
ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

MUSICAL DIRECTOR
MRS. FREDERICK BRUEGGER

ART DIRECTOR
MR. RUSSELL ABDILL

GRAND MARSHAL OF GROUPS
COL. RICHINGS J. SHAND

Dances Arranged by
MRS. HAZEL H. MOORE

Director of Dances
MISS LUCY BATES

ARGUMENT

EARLIER ILLINOIS

PART I.

"The Masque of Illinois" is an attempt, believed to be the first of its kind ever made, to interpret by means of symbol and allegory the

245 years (1673-1918) of the history of the Illinois Country. It is, therefore, a closely written synopsis of such history, no event having marked influence upon the development of the State and its people being omitted.

Illinois is first shown surrounded by her Prairies, Rivers, Forests, and Flowers, which may be taken as standing for our natural resources. Upon this primitive and idyllic peace Fear intrudes, accompanied by a band of Indians, who dance War and Squaw Dances. They are frightened away by the coming of the French (1673). Joliet, La Salle, and Tonty, are shown as symbolizing certain of the gifts the French brought to us; religion, the most valuable of these, being indicated by the procession following of the first missionaries, Fathers Marquette, Hennepin, Ribourde, and Membre, with their Indian converts, singing the "Vexilla Regis" to the old monkish air actually used in that day. The gayety of France is also shown in a little dance, which is interrupted by the coming of the British (1765), who fly their old flag with the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in the place of the French Lilies. The British are routed in turn by the Virginia frontiersmen (1778) then in alliance with France.

The bordermen sing "The Virginian Song," contemporary in both words and music, and bring in the Pioneer Maidens to dance the "Virginia Reel" with them, indicating the nature of our first American settlers, bringing with them Virginia herself, our first American ruler, who in turn introduces America, for whom "Hail Columbia" is sung, in reference to the cession of the Illinois Country to the Nation (1787). She drives Fear, Tyranny, and Hate far from the scene, that Love, Freedom, and Justice may take up their abode with us. With these as sponsors, America crowns Illinois with the crown of Statehood (1818), and the scene concludes with the singing of "Fair Illinois":

Fair Illinois
Thine every joy
Of great endeavor!
Our hearts unite
In bonds of light
With thine own heart forever!

So shall we stand
One kindly band
In blest communion
Of mind and soul
Made glad and whole
In Freedom's sacred Union!

ILLINOIS STATEHOOD

PART II.

The Centennial Hymn, "Our Illinois," is sung and Illinois is shown once more at the beginning of her independent career as a sovereign State of the Union, saying:

The beauty of youth is mine, and riches more than gold;
My stalwart sons and daughters shall bring me wealth untold;
Woodland and plain are mine; but better than loam and tree
Stout hearts and visioned eyes to keep my people free.

A maiden comes bringing Slavery, introduced by the French long before, who is expelled, standing for Governor Coles' successful fight

against the attempt to make this a slave State (1823). The Dance and Song of Illinois Boys and Girls, for the immigration which flocked hither is next, and the welcoming of LaFayette, who was received at Kaskaskia and Shawneetown (1825). The beginning of the commercial mining of coal and the breaking plow is briefly suggested (1830), and the Blackhawk War (1832) by a repetition of the War Dance and Squaw Dance, followed by the expulsion of the Indians from our territory (1833). The building of canals and railways is symbolized, before Illinois rejects the bribe of Repudiation (1842-44), and of Polygamy, first proclaimed by Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, with the ensuing expulsion of the Mormons (1846). In a vision Illinois commemorates the gallantry of our soldiers in the war with Mexico, and the Illinois Colleges founded before 1861 celebrate themselves and the spread of education in the State in the preceding decade. Then comes the Civil War, the panegyric of Illinois being interrupted by the mourning of the Illinois Company for its heroic dead, broken by Illinois, who commands, in what is perhaps the most eloquent passage of the Masque, as follows:

My noble sons, my noble slain, I mourn;
Mourn with me, kneel and mourn my sons a while.
Now lift your heads my children, seek the skies
And look with level eyes upon the sun.
For yours the deathless voice of loyalty
That is my Douglas, all the glory lit
But my indomitable Grant tender
Of heart to vanquished brethren; aye, and yours
And mine the wistful splendor of the man
Who is mankind bound up in one strong soul
Compassionate my LINCOLN. So give praise!

An Alleluia follows for those who yield their lives in Freedom's cause. The return of peace, the Chicago Fire (1871) and its dance, are followed by a prologue speaking the lapse of time. The World's Columbian Exposition (1893) is indicated by the Hymn of the Nations, foreshadowing the Great War, the words of which are:

The Nations come in greeting
Upon the New World's birth
In peace and happy meeting
From all the ends of earth;
They come by joy attended,
The Nations great and small,
The Nations weak and splendid:
Have mercy on them all!

The future glooms before them—
What will its dark days bring?
Shall Freedom hover o'er them,
Or crawl they to a king?
Some put their trust in battle
In armies and the sword,
Men sent to death like cattle:
Have mercy on them, Lord!

The autocrat and tyrant
The Armored hands of Might,
Against the world conspirant
What care they for the Right?
Our soldiers and our seamen
Some day shall rise as men
To leave a world of Freemen:
God keep and guard them then!

And the curtain falls.

ILLINOIS AND WAR

PART III.

The scene shows the throne of Illinois, with the Altar of War and Hope embellished with the insignia of the great American War Charities, upon it the great seven Lights of Battle ready for lighting. The Illinois Counties come in singing the first stanza of "America and Right," followed by Illinois herself, perplexed and in deep trouble. She sends for her ancient counsellors, Justice, Love, and Freedom, who advise her at last to resolve her doubts regarding the war that is forcing itself upon her by calling back from her past the soldiers from her previous wars, with their women. In obedience the six Lights of Battle are lighted, and the old glories revived in the persons of men and women from (1) the Revolutionary War, (2) the War of 1812, (3) the Blackhawk War, (4) the War with Mexico, (5) the Civil War, and (6) the War with Spain. Each band testifies that its fighting and self-sacrifice led to greater freedom for Illinois and for the world.

To the throne then come the old friends, France, our first ruler; Italy, who gave us Tonty, the first white settler on our soil; Belgium, who sent us Father Ribourde from Flanders, our protomartyr; and Britain, our second ruler. Illinois welcomes them, and the other Nations on the side of Right come in with their banners, and are sworn to make an end of war. Illinois, hesitant no longer, herself lights the seventh light. At the last the slightly adapted chorus of the Greeks before Marathon being sung in translation from "The Persians" of Æschylus:

Strike, O ye sons of the West for your lives,
 Freemen are ye!
 Strike for your homes, for your children and wives,
 Bend not the knee!
 Strike for your God and the shrines He has blest!
 Strike for your graves where your forefathers rest
 Liberty Victory ride from the West—
 Strike, and be free!

With the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" by the audience, the Masque is ended.

WALLACE RICE, *Author.*

PRINCIPALS FOR "MASQUE OF ILLINOIS"

(In order of appearance)

Leader of the Trumpeters.....	Charles J. Lorch
Trumpeter.....	Marion Higgins
Trumpeter.....	Katharine Low
Prologue.....	General Frank S. Dickson
Illinois.....	Florence Lowden
Fear.....	Elmer E. Bradley
Indian Chief.....	Burke Vancil

*The
 Illinois
 Company*

French Officer.....C. J. Doyle
 Joliet.....Paul S. Kingsbury
 LaSalle.....E. R. Welch
 Tonty.....J. R. Leib
 Marquette.....Hugh Graham
 Hennepin.....Edmund Burke
 Membre.....Paul Burns
 Ribourde.....T. J. Condon
 1673 Maiden.....Eleanor Robinson
 British Officer.....Harry Smith
 Tyranny.....George W. Kenney
 Hate.....Charles Hudson
 British Soldier.....T. J. Sullivan
 Frontiersman.....W. F. Workman
 Virginia.....Louisa Stericker
 America.....Christine Brown
 Liberty.....Frances Gardner
 Justice.....Mrs. J. R. Leib
 Love.....Mrs. Robert McClure
 Crown Bearer.....Mary Jane Meredith
 First Page.....Lorna Doone Williamson
 Second Page.....Virginia Dare Williamson
 1823 Maiden.....Della Kikendall
 Slavery.....Henry Lyman Child
 Lafayette.....Herbert W. Georg
 Indian Chief's Daughter.....Mrs. Paul L. Starne
 Repudiation.....Hugh Graham
 1840 Maiden.....Mrs. Dorothy Dodds Chisam
 Polygamy.....H. M. Solenberger
 1861 Maiden.....Louise Hickox
 Fire Dance.....Lucy Bates
 1871 Maiden.....Gladys Troxell
 Chicago.....Mrs. John Prince
 Herald.....Rev. Lester Leake Riley
 Leader of Freedom.....Barney Cohen
 Red Cross.....Muriel Stratham
 Acolyte.....Charlotte Pasfield
 Acolyte.....Hildred Hatcher
 The Ranger.....J. R. Leib
 The Pioneer.....Calvin White
 Soldier of the Mexican War.....A. D. Mackie
 Soldier of the Civil War.....B. C. Bean
 Soldier of the Spanish War.....Burke Vancell
 France.....Mrs. Wm. L. Patton
 Italy.....Ethel Lynn Ross
 Belgium.....Mrs. John W. Black
 Britannia.....Mary Colgan
 England.....Mrs. Arthur Fitzgerald
 Scotland.....Mrs. Beralla Southwick
 Ireland.....Lo Reine McGowan
 Wales.....Helen Fitch
 Canada.....Mary Shafted
 Australia.....Mrs. Don Deal
 South Africa.....Mrs. Henry Child
 Newfoundland.....Susie Harl
 New Zealand.....Mrs. George E. Keys
 India.....Miss Imogene Smith
 Egypt.....Mrs. Leigh Call
 One in Black.....Mrs. H. L. Patton

Quartette

Tenor.....R. A. Guest
 Soprano.....Mrs. Helen Brown Read
 Alto.....Mrs. Grace Fish Partridge
 Basso.....J. B. Barnaby

Trees

Marie E. Farlow
 Loretta Downey
 Katherine N. Hartmann
 Marie Fitch
 Patsey Smith
 Alice Condon
 Mary C. Jepson
 Helen M. Rogers
 Genevieve E. Griffin
 Elizabeth Leeder
 Margaret Driscoll
 Myrtle Whelan
 Louise Coe
 Ercell Dowell
 Louise Bebee
 Marion Higgins
 Katharine Low

Flowers

Ida I. Brown
 Katherine L. McGinley
 Elizabeth Troesch
 Dorothy E. O'Brien
 Margaret S. Yogerst
 Marie T. Hallinan
 Katherine Morris
 Katherine Friedmeyer
 Marie Bruscke
 Julia Gedman
 Margaret McDonald
 Cecelia Hogan
 Martha Scrogin
 Helen Scrogin

Prairies

Jennie B. Otto
 Ella B. Keely
 Jane Fixmer
 Virginia S. Osborne
 Anna Shaughnessy
 Marie Casey
 Josephine Gorman
 Margaret McGranoo
 Rose Thon
 Verna Armstrong
 Doris Deaton
 Marie Wise

Rivers

Edith E. Edwards
 Mary A. England
 Ella L. Manning
 Marie I. Schou
 Ella Chandler
 Helen England
 Alice Gorman
 Mildred Rodger
 Helen Tilley
 Francis Schou

Indian Braves

Burke Vancil
 Fred Brooks
 Edwin A. Coe
 E. W. Wright
 V. A. Campbell
 Warren Lewis
 Dr. Scott Walters
 H. D. Agee
 E. M. Shanklin

C. R. Constant
 D. T. Queen
 J. A. Morton
 Ollie Addleman
 Dare I. Martin
 Geo. Hamilton
 B. B. Nuckels
 Arthur Bridge

J. F. Connelly
 Paul Harnes
 Fred Harnes
 Sam Christopher
 W. A. Lester
 Harry Converse
 Samuel Eckel
 Albert C. Converse

Indian Maidens

Hattie Nelson
 Jeannette Rowan
 Ethel Thompson
 Bessie Crafton

Lillibelle Troth
 Gertrude Hall
 Ellen Broadus
 Ida Johnson

Lucille Montgomery
 Stella Nelson
 Ellen Stevens
 Bessie Stevens

French Soldiers

Harry W. Nickey
 A. F. Shepherd
 L. C. Canham
 Dr. A. W. Barker

Wm. Diefenthaler
 J. M. Pollard
 Bud Barber

William J. Aurelius
 Harry Watson
 Rice J. Moore

French Woodrunners

George A. Fish
 Samuel Barker
 James Riley
 A. D. Burbank

Ted Weites
 O. F. Davenport
 J. E. Schwarzott

J. S. Crugar
 L. J. Wylie
 M. B. Hoagland

Vexilla Regis Chorus

Under the direction of MISS BESSIE HANRATTY

Mrs. J. W. Hington
 Mrs. Cummings
 Mrs. Laura Nichols
 Mrs. Helen Wemberg
 Mrs. Oliver Davenport
 Mrs. Brownback
 Mrs. Marie Powell
 Mrs. Theresa O'Reilly
 Mrs. John Kohlbecker
 Mrs. Jerry Sexton
 Sue Boyle
 Mary Barry
 Ollie Kennedy
 Anna Nally
 Jessie Smith
 Gertrude White
 Josephine Yoggerst
 Mrs. W. D. Stewart
 Theresa Eglin
 Loraine Eglin
 Mary Buoy
 Emily Buoy
 Theresa Reynolds
 Bessie Higgins
 Elizabeth Donelan

Marie Mulcahy
 Mrs. Mayme Stevens
 Margaret Mulcahy
 Marie Koenig
 Louise M. Desch
 Mrs. Viola E. Holliday
 Mary Delmore
 Margaret Dolan
 Angela Fischer
 Agnes Mischler
 Mary Shaughnessy
 Emma Groesch
 Marie Eglin
 Christine Layendecker
 Catherine Gorman
 Margaret Dolan
 Edna Groesch
 Margaret Nollen
 Gertrude Staab
 Irene Foster
 Nellie Gaffigan
 Margaret Gaffigan
 Mary Gaffigan
 Grace Morgan
 Helen Troesch

Ella Morgan
 Helen Golden
 Marie Hallihan
 Katherine Hallihan
 Grace Nordimeyer
 Thelma Trent
 Loretta Doyle
 Irene Hart
 Kate Costello
 Josephine Connolly
 Thos. Reynolds
 Thos. Yoggerst
 Gus Link
 John Kuhlman
 Ed. Dolan
 C. N. Groesch
 Jacob Layendecker
 Earl Kane
 J. B. Bird
 John Fix
 Chas. Metzger
 Sigmund Rechner
 H. Rabenstein
 Joseph Geist
 James Murphy

French Company

Doris Babcock
 Dorothy Johnston
 Jennie Barnes
 Leonora Patton
 Margaret Potter
 Frances Easley
 Dorothy Runyan

Elizabeth Pasfield
 Emily Owen
 Cecelia Schirnding
 Luella Harnsberger
 Charlotte Pasfield
 Mabel Stuart
 Lucille Cazalet

Kathryn Kautz
 Mildred Caskey
 Bertha Harris
 Roxana Watson
 Rowena Shonweiler
 Grace Peebles

British Soldiers

Harry L. Smith
Edward F. Irwin
E. L. Haas
G. E. Dobson

Geo. D. Parkin
D. M. Tilson
Arthur Lehne
C. A. Gauker

C. W. Vail
Fred C. Kincaid
Walter Bachelder

Bordermen

Harry C. Page
J. F. Baker
George J. Tunney
S. E. Moore
A. D. Fash
C. H. Pickett
Lee Kincaid

J. A. Bryden
Miles A. Leach
R. E. James
Will L. Connor
W. B. Jose
Frank T. Keisacker
W. S. Hurd

Carl Congdon
Barney Oldfield
E. L. Mayhew
Griffith George
A. L. Whittenberg
Clarence Jones

*Virginia Reel**Soloists*

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE and MR. R. A. GUEST

The Dancers

Edward S. Boyd
W. R. Flint
O. G. Miller
A. C. Margrave
Harry J. Haynes
William L. Blucke

William D. McKinney
Mr. A. B. Harris
Mr. Alfred Bramblett
Mrs. W. R. Flint
Mrs. O. G. Miller
Mrs. A. C. Margrave

Mrs. Harry J. Haynes
Mrs. William D. McKinney
Mrs. E. C. Haas
Miss Elva Boyd
Mrs. Kauffman

Continental Soldiers

Dr. John A. Wheeler
George H. Faxon
Edward Anderson
C. H. Jenkins
A. B. Simonson
Sam Metcalf
Leigh Call

Chas. T. Bisch
Russell James
H. A. McElvain
A. R. Abels
Ray Christopher
A. A. Hart
F. A. Land

F. O. Lorton
W. D. Mottar
Wallie Fleming
J. M. Tucker
C. C. Bradley
Chas. Price

*Slavery Group**Children of Illinois*

Geo. Edward Coe
Geo. French
Billy Meter
Hugh Graham
Billy Lou Jayne
Sim Fernandes
Leon Lambert
Daniel O'Connell
James Edw. Mueller
Maurice Holahan
Street Dickerman
James Jones

Bob Patton
Charles Lanphier
Halbert Crews
Marshall Myers
Nona Walgren
Elizabeth French
Mercedes Mueller
Mary Merideth
Mary Linn Culp
Esther McAnulty
Alice Burke
Martha McCann

Margaret E. Jayne
Catherine Graham
Clara Graham
Catherine Murphy
Elizabeth Murphy
Loretta Bea
Lorene McGrath
Virginia S. Osborne
Helen Fogarty
Nancy Jane Mackie
Mary Fogarty

*Farmers and Miners and
Canal and Railroad Makers*

Boy Scouts

FRED HAHN—Scout Master

Charles Grahm
Charles Bridges
Marshal McNeer
Allen Bergman
Frank Stowars

Harold Actom
Lorence Kunz
Frank Grebe
John Greleski
Slanty Wise

Dwight Trumbull
Richard New
Stuart Refler
Will News
Robert Scarf

ILLINOIS COLLEGES FOUNDED PREVIOUS TO THE CIVIL WAR

Illinois
McKendree
Shurtleff
Monticello
Knox
Lombard
Rockford
Illinois Woman's College
Blackburn
Hedding
Eureka

Wheaton
Northwestern
Augustana
Chaddock
Concordia
Northwestern University
Monmouth
Lake Forest
Wesleyan
Chicago University
State Normal

THE COLLEGE GROUP TRINITY CHORUS CHOIR

*Officers of Chorus*R. SCHOKNECHT, *Director*F. DIESING, *Accompanist*A. MAURER, *Treasurer*

Assistants to Treasurer—FRANK GROTH, LOUIS KOOPMAN, ANNA DURHEIM,
MARGARET BEHRENS

*Members**Sopranos*

Dorothy Adams
Nellie Baker
Selma Behrens
Elizabeth Bettinghaus
Anna Busch
Minnie Durheim
Clara Engelder
Carrie Feuerbacher
Margaret Goering
Charlotte Friedmeyer
Catherine Friedmeyer
Charlotte Herzer
Alme Koopman
Lucy Lauterbach
Helen Link
Edna Link
Hilda Libka
Martha Maurer

Helen Meyer
Johannah Ostermeier
Marie Profrock
Minnie Reiss
Louise Reiss
Eda Richards
Elizabeth Richards
Elsie Roberts
Anna Ruschke
Marie Sack
Lydia Sieving
Tena Sommer
Margaret Sommer
Margaret Spitznagel
Ruth Streckfuss
Elizabeth Sturm
Katherine Sturm

Alma Sturm
Lillie Tarr
Julia Vogt
Katherine Van Horn
Dorothy Van Horn
Marie Zoellner
Marie Westerman
Anna Durheim
Louise Hoffman
Margaret Herzer
Florence Lauterbach
Hedwig Streckfuss
Lyda Tuxhorn
Martha Orłowski
Mrs. M. A. Maurer
Mrs. F. Groth
H. Goebel

Altos

Alice Baker
Hildegard Behrens
Margaret Behrens
Anna Brand
Hilda Brand
Caroline Bretcher
Mayme Granneman
Olga Groth

Gola Goebel
Alma Hoffman
Bertha Ostermeier
Charlotte Ostermeier
Minnie Ostermeier
Durheim
Gustave Pahnke
Anna Sack

Julia Siebert
Hilma Volle
Minnie Yaeck
Kenneth Schnepf
Lillie Tuxhorn
Mrs. O. Bade

Tenors

Herman Sack
Fred Gaede
Robert Gaudlitz
Louis Groth
Louis Koopman

Fred Schmidt
T. Steinke
Edward Tarr
Walter Meyer
Fred Ostermeier

Wilbur Fargo
Godfrey Adams
August Eshlepp
H. Beck

Basses

George Bettinghaus
Leo Brown
Gus Bretcher
O. H. Bade

Albert Durheim
Frank Groth
William Profrock
Wm. H. Schnepf

Robert C. Runge
Adolph Maurer
Carl Ostermeier

MOURNERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

ISAAC GUEST *Soloist*

WARS OF ILLINOIS GROUP

COLONEL RICHINGS J. SHAND, *Marshal*

J. D. Shaffer	C. R. Beebe	Gerald Edwin Margrave
Henry Offer	Wm. B. Chittenden	W. R. Flint
L. L. Bacchus	L. J. Pulliam	O. G. Miller
Dr. E. S. Spindel	W. F. Castleman	A. C. Margrave
W. Sidney Grundy	Clayton Barber	Harry J. Haynes
G. H. Thoma	R. O. Fishback	J. M. Picco
G. W. Solomon	F. O. Gulick	Robert Bunker
E. G. George	Lester Krick	Fred Cassell
Curtis E. Lawrence	B. W. Heady	M. C. Kline
Dr. A. N. Owens	Lester Gott	Ira Busher
G. V. Helmle	W. R. Schroeder	J. C. Locher
Henry R. Marshall	Wm. M. Jageman	Chas. A. Keck
Robert Curry	T. M. Bradford	W. A. Dorr
Thomas English	Chas. Springer	Eugene Linxweiler
Alexander Miller	A. E. Miller	Paul Dobson
Geo. D. Meredith	F. L. Everett	Louis N. Rolle
Martin Bolt	Chas. G. Briggie	Frank Tomlin
John Marland	Ralph Dickerson	T. L. Muscat
W. H. Bruce	Barney Cohen	D. H. Brown
Fred Wanless	Bert Bean	G. A. Coleman
Walter J. Horn	Amos Sawyer	F. C. Stone
Thomas Strong	Jno. P. Utt	H. J. Spurway
J. H. Ferreira	Arthur Neale	H. H. Clark
Walter Stehman	Fred Klump	J. Maggenti
Romie Fields	Elmer Birks	George Spengler
T. Turley	Dr. Francis W. Shepardson	Louis Roberts
Edward Smith	L. W. Shade	Myer Fishman
Harry J. Thornton	Dr. Robert J. Flentje	Leo Cohn
W. A. J. Hay	A. H. Bogardus	R. C. McLain
M. D. Morris	E. G. Bogardus	N. B. Clark
Chas. J. Peterson	Justice Mellon	Morton Barker
J. D. Hudson	C. A. Washburn	Jno. W. Vorhees
Dr. S. D. Zaph	T. E. Park	J. K. Murdock
Dr. G. E. Maxwell	J. A. Miller	Wm. M. Winders
R. F. Bear	C. S. Miller	W. T. Fossett
R. O. Augur	C. W. Kessler	Herman J. Rick
Fred Gulick	Frank Kavanaugh	Dr. T. J. Kinnear
W. H. Conkling	Frank A. Hall	Donald McDougal
F. M. Legg	Roy T. Jefferson	C. Monroe Hill
L. F. Mansfield	Norval M. Naylor	Dr. Geo. B. Weakley
Basil W. Ogg	J. R. Jones	Edward P. Kelly
G. P. Kircher	R. E. Corson	Dr. C. M. Mulligan
Henry L. Smith	Edwin Rees	Harry E. Fletcher
Rev. E. M. Antrim	Grover W. Yoder	W. P. Weinold
H. A. Leidel	Norman L. Owen	J. A. Foster
Samuel H. Heidler	Albert S. Mitchell	Dr. A. C. Baxter
John Vose, Jr.	Dr. J. C. Walters	James M. Gullett
Louis M. Myers	R. D. Sharen	Benjamin Bruce
W. B. Robinson	Randolph B. Gaffney	Timothy E. Britton
W. O. Homberg	C. C. Roundtree	H. T. Culp
T. C. Smith	A. R. Bidwell	H. E. Struble
Norman Reinboth	George C. Felter	Miss Gladys Marland
Dr. A. Banks	Dr. J. M. Shearl	Miss LaVerne Marland
John L. Scott	H. W. McDavid	Miss Luella Payton
J. B. Crane	W. H. Perkins	Miss Gladys Parsons
Henry Bengel	D. B. Cannon	Oscar Ansell
Julius Myers	Bridge Brooks	A. W. Chapman
Curtis H. Rottger	Walter Jones	Thomas Lawrence
Harry Johnson	E. B. Harris	D. O'Keefe
James H. McMillon	Wm. L. Blucke	H. B. Hill
F. R. Atwood	Wm. D. McKinney	F. R. Dickerson
E. B. Shinn	G. C. Rockwell	A. D. Sawyer
A. J. Parsons	Geo. Cresce	S. Fernandes
O. S. Morse	Edward S. Boyd	Dr. J. A. Day
H. C. Henkes		E. F. Armbruster
J. H. Raymond		

BORDERMEN AND WOMEN (1778)

With Flag of Thirteen Stars and Stripes

ILLINOIS RANGERS AND WOMEN (1812)

With Flag of Fifteen Stars and Fifteen Stripes

ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS AND WOMEN (Black Hawk War 1832)

With Flag of Twenty-four Stars and Thirteen Stripes

SOLDIERS OF MEXICAN WAR

With Flag of Twenty-nine Stars and Thirteen Stripes

SOLDIERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

With Flag of Thirty-four Stars

SOLDIERS OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN

With Flag of Forty-five Stars

MEMBERS OF LINCOLN HOME CAMP NO. 64,

UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS

ALLIED NATIONS

Flag Bearer and Women

LADIES FROM THE EASTERN STAR

Ethel Brown	Mabel Pumphrey	Mrs. Gary Sinniger
Alice Brown	Nell Nolden	Mrs. E. S. Boyd
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2d Lieutenant.....	Harry E. Stout
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1st Lieutenant.....	Robert W. Troxell
2nd Lieutenant.....	Frank L. Melin
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Electric Lighting—Mr. Charles A. Meador.

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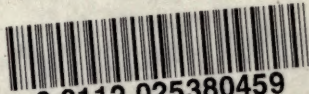






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